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ELEVENTH REPORT
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
IN CALIFORNIA
1961



REPORT OF THE
SENATE FACT-FINDING SUBCOMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
TO THE 1961 REGULAR CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
SACRAMENTO, 1961

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE



ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE SENATE FACT-FINDING SUBCOMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

1961

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL
SACRAMENTO

HONORABLE GLENN M. ANDERSON
PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND
GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE;

Senate Chamber, Sacramento, California

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: Pursuant to Senate Rules Resolution No. 1, adopted June 19, 1959, under authority of Paragraph 13 of Senate Resolution No. 135, which appears at page 3332 of the Senate Journal for June 5, 1959, as amended by Senate Resolution No. 163, which appears at page 3678 of the Senate Journal for June 15, 1959, the Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities of the General Research Committee was created and the following Members of the Senate were appointed to said subcommittee by the Senate Committee on Rules: Senator J. Howard Williams, Senator Nathan F. Coombs, Senator John F. Thompson, Vice Chairman, Senator Charles Brown, Senator Hugh M. Burns, Chairman.

The committee herewith submits a report of its investigation, findings, and recommendation.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH M. BURNS, *Chairman*
JOHN F. THOMPSON, *Vice Chairman*
J. HOWARD WILLIAMS
NATHAN F. COOMBS
CHARLES BROWN



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Copies of previous Un-American Activities Reports may be obtained at most of the public libraries in California.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

RESURGENCE

Commencing about eighteen months ago the Communist Party, after languishing in relative inactivity since February 1956, picked up momentum and has steadily been gaining strength.

The disgraceful student riots attending the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco in May 1960, the emergence of new and defiant student organizations on the campuses of our universities, the sudden change in the flavor of propaganda material appearing in Communist bookstores—these and other developments we shall discuss later provided unmistakable danger signals that the period of dormancy had ended and that the revisionists in the Party had been either ousted or subdued.

Interviews with students disclose an alarming indoctrination: contempt for duly constituted authority, distrust of the F.B.I., hatred for all committees of federal or state legislatures established to ascertain and report on internal subversion. We have made a careful investigation of the San Francisco riots and of the conditions in our schools and universities. These matters will be set forth shortly.

First, in order to view the situation in its proper perspective, let us examine the reasons for this sudden resurgence of activity.

The 1957 and 1959 reports explained at length how the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, convened at Moscow in February 1956, provided the opportunity for Nikita Khrushchev to attack the dead Stalin and savagely rip his regime to shreds. After Stalin's death in March 1953, there was a characteristic scramble for power among his former supporters. By the time the 20th Congress was convened Khrushchev had solidified his authority and was convinced of the necessity to relieve the reign of terror that had existed during Stalin's twenty-nine year rule. The people were becoming restive under the tensions imposed by the Soviet secret police. They were dissatisfied because they were unable to provide themselves with anything except the barest necessities of life. There were unmistakable rumblings of revolt, particularly in the Ukraine where Khrushchev was born and where he was sent by Stalin to liquidate thousands of his countrymen in a series of ruthless and bloody purges.

Khrushchev made two major addresses to the assembled faithful from the higher echelons of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as to representatives from foreign Communist parties who had been selected to attend the proceedings. The first address was characterized by a mild criticism of Stalin and his policies on February 14, 1956. About ten days later he made a secret address to carefully selected representatives during which Khrushchev vilified the cult of the personality, criticized rule by one man, attacked the purge trials that swept the Soviet Union from 1935 to 1939, criticized the secret police for ex-

traeting confessions from innocent people by the most fiendish tortures, promised to restore individual liberties, promised abundant supplies of consumer goods, and blamed all of the troubles of the country on Stalin, whom he described as a brutal and tyrannical man obsessed with nameless fears and determined to insure his rule by murdering all who opposed him.

It must be remembered that throughout the entire Stalin reign he had been glorified to an extent achieved by no other ruler in history. His statues appeared from one end of the land to the other and his pictures were displayed in every public place. He was depicted by the Soviet propaganda machine as a benign and kindly despot who visited swift and terrible vengeance on counter-revolutionaries, foreign spies, tools of the imperialists, and everyone who engaged in counter-revolutionary activity. This latter term had been stretched to the breaking point to cover anything that smacked of the slightest dissension from Stalin's rule. In every Communist Party throughout the world this propaganda was echoed and re-echoed until the average rank and file Communist was thoroughly imbued with the truth of the assertion that Stalin was indeed capable of no wrong, and that reports of his purges and of the excesses to which he drove his secret police were simply capitalist propaganda.

In the United States in particular was the Stalin regime defended throughout the twenty-nine year period of its existence. Every criticism was met by a torrent of denial and abuse from the Communist press, and by the time Khrushchev made his historic speech in February, 1956, the deification of Stalin's personality and the myth of his infallibility had been firmly rooted in the American Communist Party. Consequently, when this position was shattered by the Khrushchev speech, American Communists were placed in the humiliating position of having to admit that they had been completely wrong for twenty-nine years and that the capitalist press had been eminently correct. Not only was the myth shattered to fragments, but thousands of American Communists were disillusioned and quietly left the Party in disgust. There had been other crises like this but none that approached its severity. The purge trials of 1935-1939 had put some degree of strain on Communist solidarity; the Non-Aggression Pact consummated between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in August 1939 had intensified that strain in the United States; but although some Communists were disillusioned and left the organization, the breach was not especially serious and was quickly healed. The advent of World War II, and especially the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, again solidified the Communist ranks, switched the Party line overnight, and there was a steady gain in Communist strength throughout the United States from 1941 until 1946 when the Party reached its all-time strength.

Immediately after the War in 1945, the outlook for the American Communists had never been brighter, according to a recent analyst.* Shortly after the Khrushchev speech of February 1956 the decimated Communist ranks of the American Party shrank to an all-time low

* *The Decline of American Communism*, by David A. Shannon. Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1959, p. 4.

of approximately 12,500 members when we submitted our last report in June 1959.

Coincidentally with the shattering results of the Khrushchev speech came a respite to the Party by way of a series of decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. We described these cases and their effect at some length in our 1959 report, pages 187-203. The Party had suffered a good deal of embarrassment by reason of years of federal and state committees on un-American activities exposing Party members and Party techniques, had suffered a loss of leadership when the top officers of the Party were convicted and imprisoned in a series of prosecutions under the Smith Act, when defiant witnesses who had appeared before investigative bodies were convicted for contempt, and most of all because of a successful and steady penetration of the innermost circles of the Party by informants employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies.

To offset these harassments the Party launched a bitter and vigorous campaign of abuse to pave the way for a series of legal decisions that would upset the objectionable precedents and relieve the Party from prosecution and infiltration. Accordingly, it bitterly attacked the Supreme Court, urged the liquidation of Congressional committees on un-American activities, urged the release of all "political" prisoners (meaning Communists in Party language), insisted on the abolition of all security measures and loyalty oaths, contended that civil liberties had broken down and the Bill of Rights had been violated, and maintained this steady barrage of propaganda in the New York *Daily Worker*, the San Francisco *People's World*, in the monthly ideological publication of the Party, *Political Affairs*, and in an incredible mass of booklets, pamphlets, leaflets, broadsides and mimeograph sheets that flooded the country. Just before the Khrushchev speech it appeared that this propaganda had been eminently successful, and that the Party was indeed getting the respite from harassment it so desperately sought. But the Khrushchev speech far outweighed these advantages, and the Party was plunged into complete confusion in February, 1956.

Revisionism

John Gates, a Communist of long standing who had fought in the Spanish Revolution and was editor-in-chief of the *Daily Worker*, was one of the defendants arrested during the Smith Act prosecutions, convicted and duly sent to a federal penitentiary. While there he read for the first time non-Communist literature and some books that were critical of Communism. When the upheaval of February 1956 occurred, Gates was completely disillusioned with the activities of the Communist Party in this country and was convinced that it had become an ineffective instrument for the achievement of its announced purposes. He accordingly advocated that it disband and direct its activities through different channels based on the Marxian ideology. Gates gathered to himself a considerable following and thereby incurred the wrath of such Communist stalwarts as William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis and Gus Hall. Among the supporters of Gates, but with ideas of her own, was Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Communist Party of Southern California. This lady was once a hearing commissioner in the State Department of Labor with headquarters in San Francisco,

and made her first appearance before this Committee in December 1941. She presently is the chairman of the Southern Division of the Communist Party of California. Dorothy Healey, a person of great influence and considerable ability, organized her own following in Los Angeles County and the difference between the southern and northern divisions of the Party became immediately evident.

An excellent indication of a man's personality may be found in the books in his home. These volumes, selected over a long period of time, together with the magazines and papers that he customarily reads, will invariably indicate that he is a reader of relatively heavy textbooks, or light novels; that he is a political liberal who favors publications like the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The New Yorker*, *Harper's Magazine*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Saturday Review*, or *The Nation*. Other publications, such as *National Review*, *Counterattack*, *The National Republic*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and publications of the general flavor, would indicate that he is of a more conservative political persuasion. Changes in cultural appetites and political ideology are reflected as the moods of the reader change. The books found in Communist bookstores, such as the International Book Store in San Francisco and the Progressive Book Store in Los Angeles, are even more sensitive barometers of the change in the Communist Party line. Thus, during the era of the Dorothy Healey-John Gates revolt from Party orthodoxy, such anti-Communist books as *Dr. Zhivago*, *Not by Bread Alone*, and *The New Class* appeared on the shelves of the Los Angeles Communist book store. In San Francisco, however, there was an acceleration of the type of literature that plugged hard for the tough, militant Communist line and castigated the Gates and Healey Followers as "Revisionists."

Within the last eighteen months there have been no anti-Communist books in the Los Angeles store. On the contrary, the type of literature it has been displaying is precisely like that found in San Francisco. Gates resigned from the Party and wrote a book about his experiences. He was followed by others who made their resignations public, including a large group in California. But, for the most part, the rank and file members quietly dropped out of all Party activity, slipping unobtrusively into other avenues of work, apprehensive lest publicity concerning their departure from the Party ranks would create an unfavorable influence that would interfere with their social life and their pursuit of a gainful occupation.

Revisionism rocked the American Communist Party to its very foundations and reduced its membership to a handful of tough, disciplined, fanatic leaders and a scattering of adherents concentrated mainly in New York and California, with some strength in parts of the mid-west. *Political Affairs*, the ideological magazine, continued to appear with regularity but suffered greatly in content from a lack of competent writers; the *Daily People's World* ceased as a daily and appeared once a week, and the *Daily Worker* in New York staggered along, appearing irregularly and echoing the bitter controversies that were raging throughout the Party.

The revolts in Poland and in Hungary and defiance of Soviet authority in East Germany added fuel to the fires, as did reports of the glowing success of West Germany under a democratic form of government

and free enterprise system that stimulated its economy to an astonishing degree. The hundreds of thousands of refugees that came from East Germany to West Germany provided an eloquent illustration of what the German people thought of the two systems of government. We mentioned many of these occurrences at some length in our 1957 and 1959 reports, and we repeat them here and trace their influences to date for the purpose of providing the proper background for an adequate consideration of the elements that have led to the resurgence of Party.

Stimulation

From 1956 to 1959, following the Khrushchev speech, there was very little Party activity conducted openly in California, or elsewhere in the United States, for that matter. The Party went to previously prepared underground positions, continued to issue propaganda, but was unable to attract new recruits and suffered from a dire lack of financial support. The once-powerful array of Communist front organizations shriveled, dried up and withered away from lack of interest and finances. They had been exposed for exactly what they were through documented reports issued by federal and state legislative committees investigating un-American activities, and a list of front organizations found to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States had also been widely circulated. No longer was there any excuse for innocent people to be lured into these Communist-dominated groups and no longer was there any excuse for clergymen, lawyers, doctors and educators to lend their names and their prestige as sponsors of Communist front organizations and thus serve as bait for the attraction of gullible individuals who would then be subjected to a subtle process of indoctrination and recruitment. Some front organizations persisted, as will be seen, and are functioning today. But for the most part the major fronts collapsed from exposure and vanished from the scene. Neither was there any activity on the part of university students, aside from little flourishes of radical defiance and undercover effort, obviously without adult guidance, to infiltrate and secure control of student newspapers at the larger institutions, thereby securing a command of the only medium of widespread propaganda that existed on the campuses.

Then came the Khrushchev visit to the United States, following that of Anastas Mikoyan. These two Communist leaders were treated with deference by United States officials, were afforded facilities to make addresses to the American people by way of radio and television and toured all of our larger cities. Non-Communists cannot conceive of the effect of these visits on the American Communist Party. Here was the kind of symbolism they best understood. Here was a signal for new peace fronts; for propaganda plugging for peaceful coexistence; for a whole series of organizations advocating immediate disarmament, repeal of the draft law, discontinuance of all atomic tests, and pruning appropriations for defense to a minimum. The fact that Khrushchev had been one of Stalin's chief confidants and supporters and had been sent to exterminate his countrymen in the Ukraine was forgotten; he was hailed by American Communists as the leader of the forces for world peace, the restorer of prosperity and liberty to the Soviet people,

and as an earthy, cherubic, kindly man whose occasional flashes of temper made him appear all the more human.

The Russians had already launched the first Sputnik and this achievement provided the Communists of the world with ammunition for additional propaganda and restored their admiration of the Soviet Union as world leader for the Marxian way of life for all people. The symbolic effect of the leader of world Communism preaching his doctrines in the world's leading capitalist country was simply incalculable as far as the American Communist Party was concerned. This was precisely the sort of stimulation the Party needed, and it added immeasurably to the strength of the American Communist hard core. The cancellation of President Eisenhower's intended visits to the Soviet Union and Japan provided the final touches, and immediately the flavor of the propaganda in the Los Angeles Communist Book Store switched from the heretical to the orthodox, Dorothy Healey capitulated, and propaganda attacks against the FBI, police departments, university administrations, and the draft, all were revived and accelerated. Groups of radical students were organized on the major campuses in California and the first overt activity was seen in the infiltration of the Little Summit Conference at San Francisco, that was held a few days before the Big Summit Conference was scheduled to convene at Paris, and in the student riots that attended the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco in May of last year.

We now have positive proof that adult leadership off the campuses of the State University resulted in the formation of some student groups of radicals who studied Marxism, recruited other students and, to all practical purposes, comprised an apparatus of young Communists. These were the students who placed their members in key positions on the publications, continually agitated about academic freedom and civil liberties, maintained the pressure against the House Committee and the FBI, and generally spread the Communist Party line. It is quite true that these tiny groups of students were insignificant parts of the overwhelming majority of well-adjusted students who went to the University to get an education and participate in the regular campus activities instead of to spread radical propaganda and use the facilities of the institution for agitational purposes. But this minority makes a noise out of all proportion to its membership, and it is directed, disciplined, provided with a program, prodded into activity and generally directed by adult communists from the outside. We shall see in a moment how the leadership of these student groups usually comes from a family in which the parents are already dedicated Communists or Marxian Revolutionaries (and, indeed, there is virtually no difference between the two) and that the majority of the students are not organized, have no such discipline or leadership and are completely disinterested in the activities of the radical student groups. Thus a small fraction of a larger body of individuals is able to place its members in strategic positions of control. Thus it was that the Communists managed to seize control of the Russian government after the Revolution of 1917. Thus it was that American Communists managed to secure control of such vast union organizations as the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; American Communications Association; United Public Workers of America; United Office and

Professional Workers of America; United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America; National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; United Electrical, Machine and Radio Workers of America; International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, and other trade union organizations—including Locals of the American Federation of Teachers which were expelled from the parent unions because they were found to be Communist dominated. After their expulsion these unions have continued under Communist influence and have affiliated with the Communist international organization known as the World Federation of Trade Unions. And thus it is that a small Communist Party in the United States can make a noise far out of proportion to its numerical strength and, directed from abroad and coordinated with the activities of other Communist Parties throughout the world, the organization flourishes to fight its setbacks and reverses and its turnover of members, and is subverting our institutions because of the disinterest and apathy of the American people.

COMMUNIST RECRUITMENT OF YOUTH

We have seen this epidemic of student radical organizations with a Marxist orientation on American campuses before. The National Student League, started in 1931, was a creature of the Communist Party and while a great many of its members were not Communists, it was constantly under Party domination. Existing simultaneously with the Young Communist League, it diverted attention from that organization, and when a student was compelled by the University administrators to resign from the Young Communist League or leave the institution, he obliged by leaving the YCL and affiliating with the NSL. Celeste Strack was a National Student League official at UCLA in 1935 and was expelled because of her radical activities on the campus. She immediately became an open member of the Communist Party and later developed into one of its top officials. Max Weiss was a leader of the National Student League in New York City College in 1931, and Joseph Starobin played a similar role at Columbia University in the same year. Both later became prominent functionaries in the American Communist Party.

Another youth organization that was captured by the Communists almost at its inception in 1934 was the American Youth Congress, a successor to the American Student Union. It was a lusty, Communist-oriented organization of the late '30's, and like the members of organizations now in operation at California institutions of higher learning, members of the National Student League and the Students League for Industrial Democracy left their classrooms at the University of California in Berkeley to aid the striking longshoremen during the San Francisco general strike of 1934.*

SLATE

The student organization at the University of California through which much of the preparation for the picketing of the House Committee in San Francisco was made, is known as SLATE. Shortly after

* *The Communists and the Schools*, by Robert Iversen. Harcourt Brace and Company, New York 1959, pp. 184, 185.

its organizational meeting three years ago for the purpose of putting forth candidates for election to the student body offices at the University at Berkeley, the following editorial appeared in the *Daily Californian* on February 28, 1958:

"All eyes on campus will be turned toward Stephens Union this weekend as an undetermined number of liberal students join together for the SLATE convention.

At this meeting SLATE will choose its own basic structure and its officers. Although it will not decide on candidates for the forthcoming election, it will decide on issues.

By Saturday night, if all goes well, SLATE will have decided just how liberal a party it is going to be and what it stands for. By Monday the other side of the campus public can stop worrying about what SLATE might do, and can start worrying about what SLATE is going to do.

SLATE has been the most controversial topic of conversation in recent ASUC* history. Since it has no program as yet, it is impossible to decide whether it would help or hinder the student body in power.

One can, however, on this eve of the convention, look at what it has already done to University life. The list is rather an interesting group of paradoxes:

At its best, SLATE has caused a great upswing of interest in student government.

At its worst, SLATE has caused an evergrowing rift between fraternal groups and the rest of the campus.

At its best, SLATE has frightened Ex Com into action on issues where it had been moving rather slowly.

At its worst, SLATE has created an air of politics and suspicion and temperament which the ASUC, although not completely peaceful, had at least been able to keep under the surface.

At its best, (here again we need to see their program) SLATE is encouraging more active participation in student government by students and more action in student government by its leaders.

At its worst, SLATE is encouraging a break with the University which could kill student government altogether.

SLATE, in short, has caused a great division in the ASUC. It can be a healthy one or an unhealthy one—perhaps this weekend will decide.

But this is not the only division. SLATE itself is divided into three parts by three of its leaders. As SLATE goes into its convention it is torn between Fowlerism, Thygesonism, and (of course) Millerism. Unless this is resolved SLATE will never even get its program. It will just die. That, too, will probably be decided at the convention.

All we can say is that it should be an interesting weekend.

THE EDITOR''

Elsewhere in the same students' paper an article stated that leaders of the new organization were Jo Anne Fowler, representing the ma-

* Associated Students of UC University of California.

jority, and Fritjof Thygeson who led the opposition minority. Miss Fowler contended that all members of the organization should participate in the making of decisions, and that the power to actually determine the policy of the organization should be vested in the general assembly. Thygeson contended for a series of committees to study all aspects of the student community, and pointed out that while Miss Fowler ostensibly advocated a democratic type of structure, actually her plan would vest all of the authority in the hands of the ten or twelve people comprising its general assembly. The Student Union, where the convention of SLATE was held over the weekend of February 28, is located on the University campus and the convention was addressed by Professors L. A. Coser and P. Selznick and also heard from the group trying to effect a compromise between the two extreme factions, represented by Mike Miller, Peter Franck, and Carey McWilliams, Jr.

As a result of the convention Mike Miller was elected chairman and Pat Hallinan as co-chairman. The Fowler forces defeated the Thygeson minority, and authority was vested in the general assembly with the officers implementing policy previously decided upon by that group. An editorial in the *Daily Californian* for March 4, 1958, stated, in part, that:

"The split in the party was resolved and Fowlerism-Hallinanism won out over Thygesonism. This means that SLATE will seek immediate control of student government rather than running an 'educational program' in student democracy.

Mike Miller, who many thought would be slowly moved out of the party because of lost popularity, was, instead, elected chairman. More controversial than the SLATE convention was the front-page article which appeared in the *Young Socialist*, now on the news stands. 'Opposition Fights Fraternities Grip over Berkeley:'

'A challenge to fraternity domination of the student body government at the University of California came to a climax early in December.

'After an election campaign the like of which has not been seen for at least a decade, the informal Greek letter alumnae administration coalition managed to retain complete control in spite of 40 per cent vote to the SLATE . . .

'For working students SLATE proposed to raise the minimum wage of those employed on and around the campus . . . SLATE stood against loyalty oaths, against interrogation of professors about their students by the FBI,* for extended use of campus facilities by political groups including Socialists, for exception of conscientious *objectors from ROTC*; in short, against the witch-hunt and for academic freedom and civil liberties.

'The actual election was complete with skulduggery . . . the drive for a genuine and full student government has suffered a partial set-back this time amidst the current conditions of a political and careerist student orientation. But with the size of sup-

* See 1959 Report, p. 81.

port achieved by SLATE even under these conditions, it was a defeat which promises the victors a grim future.'

We suspect that being almost officially endorsed by the *Young Socialists* in that obviously exaggerated article will do SLATE more harm than good. Certainly it raises more controversy and more political issues than did SLATE's own convention."

The fundamental purposes of SLATE gradually emerged following the controversial weekend meeting in March 1958. Its principal objective appeared to be the elimination of faculty representation from the student executive committee and the insulation of administration and alumni representatives away from that important body. The emergence of young Carey McWilliams and Pat Hallinan as leaders of the new organization gave some indication of its ideological slant. Young McWilliams' father, Carey, Sr., has been mentioned in our reports for 1943, 1945, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, and 1959. His participation in Communist front organizations and publications, his participation in activities of the Communist Party itself, and testimony concerning him have resulted in 151 separate references to Mr. McWilliams, Sr. Commencing on page 209 of our 1959 report, we described how the attack against the Federal Bureau of Investigation was commenced on an intensive basis in October 1958 when the special issue of *The Nation*, edited by McWilliams, Sr., devoted its entire issue of 280 pages to an article by Fred J. Cook entitled *The FBI*. Our copy came from the International Book Store, 1408 Market Street, San Francisco, which is the general outlet for Communist propaganda for the Pacific Coast. We did not know then, but we have learned since, that *The Nation* is owned by one George C. Kerstein and Carey McWilliams, Sr. Kerstein's wife is secretary of the potent Communist front organization known as The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee that has for its objective the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the undermining of public confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and, generally the coordinating of an attack from all quarters on law enforcement agencies and especially official bodies that are created for the purpose of investigating and exposing Communist activities of every variety. The direct link between Mr. McWilliams and Mr. Kerstein and his wife, the Communist front organization and the Communist Party of the United States is fully exposed by a group of former FBI agents writing in *Counterattack* which appeared in October 1959.*

Pat Hallinan, the son of Vincent Hallinan, was elected vice chairman of SLATE, as above noted. His father, a retired lawyer of considerable wealth, was a candidate for President of the United States on the Independent Progressive Party ticket, acted as counsel for Harry Bridges in his last deportation proceeding, and recently returned from the Soviet Union where he and his wife attended the public trial of the pilot of the U2 that was shot down over the Soviet Union shortly before the summit meeting convened at Paris in May 1960. Hallinan's glowing accounts of the Soviet Union and favorable comments concerning the fairness accorded Powers at his trial were sold in great quantity by the Communist Book Stores both in San Francisco

* *Counterattack*, Vol. 12, No. 35, October 31, 1959.

and in Los Angeles. We shall have more to say about the members of SLATE in the portion of the report dealing with current conditions at the University of California.

The Cal Reporter

Immediately following the March convention of SLATE, a publication appeared known as the *Cal Reporter*. It was printed by the Angelica Press, 2514-A Regent Street, Berkeley and its staff was listed as follows: Hank di Suvero, temporary editor. Mr. Suvero was a University of California employee, formerly acted as representative-at-large for the student body, majored in Economics and Political Science, is a pre-legal student and was to enter Boalt Hall of Law in the fall of 1958; Lee Munroe, a senior in the Anthropology Department, who conducted the review department in the *Cal Reporter*; Ellis Click, a junior in English, a resident in Colonial Hall who transferred from Mount San Antonio Junior College and who is listed in the roster of staff members as a reporter; Jessie Edminster, a freshman in English, and a former reporter for the *Coastside Tribune*; Peg Parazette, a senior in Art and art editor of the publication; Esther Hoffberg, a freshman in English, listed as a reporter; Dave Rynin, whose father is a professor in the Department of Speech. David was a sophomore in Humanities and served as assistant editor of the publication. The first issue of this paper, which was a new campus weekly, editorialized as follows:

"The *Cal Reporter* is a new campus weekly. We have four main aims. First, perform the role of the press in a free society—that of the constructive critic and the gad-fly. Second, provide a fair news coverage of campus events which is not now available to the campus. Third, end the monopoly presentation of news at Cal. Fourth, provided selective news coverage of problems vital to students. SLATE is the publisher of the *Cal Reporter* and appoints the editor. The editor is a non-voting member of the SLATE coordinating committee. Some of the staff members are SLATE members, others are not. That is the extent of our relationship with SLATE.

The news and editorial policies of the paper are completely determined by the editors. SLATE will not determine the policies of the paper,* nor will the paper determine the policies of SLATE.

Although both SLATE and the staff of the *Cal Reporter* agree on the importance of certain broad issues, the *Cal Reporter* is free to emphasize its own interests and to differ with SLATE on specifics.

The *Cal Reporter* will be concerned with student welfare—in the areas of book prices, student employment, and racial and religious discrimination.

We will be concerned with students as citizens in society—with their involvement with national and international issues.

We will be concerned with education—with whether or not the University helps us to be open minded, thinking individuals.

We will be concerned with academic freedom and civil liberties.

We ask only a fair hearing in the open market place of ideas."

* But it could appoint and remove the editor.

It was not long before the inevitable clash between SLATE and the University administration occurred. According to an article in the *Daily Californian*, student publication for March 10, 1959, Dean of Students Hurford E. Stone ruled that SLATE should not be permitted to hold a noontime rally demonstrating in support of an initiative measure to end housing discrimination in the City of Berkeley, scheduled to appear on the municipal ballot in the April 7th election. Dean Stone based his decision on Section 20220 of the State Education Code which provides that no one can use the University's name publicly in any activity which has for its purpose or any part of its purpose the support, endorsement, advancement, opposition, or defeat of any strike, lockout, or boycott, or any political, religious, sociological or economic movement, activity or program. In a letter to the SLATE chairman, Stone said:

"... each of our University-recognized student organizations has the prestige and identification of the name of 'University of California;' without such affiliation and identification 'recognition' by the University would be meaningless and the privileges accorded them would be impossible:"

Dean Stone concluded his letter to the chairman of SLATE as follows:

"Therefore, I cannot approve your statement made on behalf of SLATE which is one of our University-recognized student organizations. Students in their individual capacities or as members of groups not recognized by the University are, of course, free to engage in political activity off the campus."

The newspaper article commented that University officials had not tried to stop such expression of student opinion before. At a recent executive committee meeting Vice-Chancellor Alexander Sherriffs had advised the executive committee of the student organization that such action by it or any other student group was illegal if it involved the use of the name of the University, and declared that all student organizations, including the executive committee and SLATE, would be compelled to abide by this regulation of the University administration.

On April 10th, 1959 the *Daily Californian* published the following article:

"Mike Miller, chairman of the SLATE political party, yesterday announced that Jacobus ten Broek, chairman of the University's Speech Department, would act as counsel for SLATE at a forthcoming student judicial committee meeting.

SLATE plans to appeal some of the ASUC * election rules at a judicial committee meeting tomorrow.

ten Broek is noted for his debating ability and his controversial political views. His appearance before J-com. to represent SLATE will mark one of the few times a faculty member has served as counsel in a student case."

* Associated Students of the University of California.

As a result of this and many similar meetings, the political power of the SLATE organization rapidly grew. Since its growth was reflected in articles—usually favorable—in the *Daily Californian*, it is appropriate to quote at length from that paper the articles reflecting not only the general student atmosphere on the campus, but also the administration's attitude and the inevitable headlong clash between University administrators seeking to limit student organizations to activities directly connected with the University, as against the radical group of students represented by SLATE and dedicated to expanding student activities to include a wide variety of controversial activities that had no direct connection with the operation of the University as a place of learning or with the activities of students.

September 25, 1958, the *Daily Californian* published the following article, entitled "SLATE Nominates."

"Dick Bowen, Pat Hallinan and Alan Madian were nominated last night for the chairmanship of SLATE, student political party.

Cary [sic] McWilliams and Marv Sternberg were also nominated, but declined to run.

The nominations were made from the floor at the first SLATE General Assembly meeting of the year, held last night in Dwinelle Hall.

Nominations will remain open until the election, which will be held two weeks from now. Further nominations may be made at a General Assembly meeting to be held next week and at the election meeting.

The General Assembly meeting was opened by Pat Hallinan, temporary chairman of SLATE. Hallinan introduced Carey McWilliams, who spoke to the 150 students at the meeting about the goals of SLATE.

McWilliams said that within the student community there is the implied premise that the student government offers 'truth, beauty, love and honor.'

In reality, he said, one finds 'insanity, importance, irrelevance and inside-ism.'

McWilliams said SLATE's goal should be to provide a meaningful alternative to these ideas.

'Cal students can't reform the school in the next year,' he added, 'but SLATE can help make the world a little more sane and just than it has been in the last 40 years.'

Mike Gucovsky, ASUC graduate representative and SLATE member, said SLATE must accomplish a program of legislation this year.

'We can't just criticize, as we did last year,' he said. 'Our first obligation to the students who voted for us and to those who did not is to accomplish something legislative.'

Gucovsky listed the areas of student welfare, culture and entertainment, and academic affairs as places where legislation is needed.

He said that progress has been made recently in these areas, but that more is needed.

'The ASUC has 30 or 40 committees,' he said. 'These are the places where the work gets stuck. SLATE will be tested here.'

'We must generate an interest in the students to participate actively in student affairs,' Gueovsky concluded.

In other business SLATE members nominated Dave Armor and Howard Taylor for the office of vice-chairman.

Brad Cleaveland was nominated for treasurer and E'Anne Weppler for secretary.

Dave Armor, Dick Bowen, Jim Payne and Dave Shipnuck were nominated for administrative officer.

Nominated for representative-at-large were Dunbar Aitkens, Mike Appleby, Jim Gallagher, Bob Gillen, Pete Graham, Carey McWilliams, Bob Orser, Phil Roos, Marv Sternberg and Riek White.

In the final action of the meeting, the General Assembly voted to have next week's meeting constitute a committee meeting. This would fulfill the SLATE constitutional provision requiring members to have attended one such committee meeting before they are entitled to vote."

As a result of these nominations and elections, Al Madian became chairman of SLATE, having received 35 votes as against 27 cast for Pat Hallinan—the election being sufficiently close that a run-off was held, the result of which was a vote of 46 for Madian and 41 for Hallinan. In a statement to the *Daily Californian* the new chairman declared that the main objective of his organization was to work for freedom of speech and assembly and to persuade the Associated Students to refuse recognition to all organizations in which there existed discrimination in race, color, or creed. Madian said that "... the students should control the student government." He said that non-student votes should be eliminated, adding that in the past there have been decisions made without the consultation of the students.*

As the political authority of this new student political organization gained momentum, it managed to exercise a powerful influence in general and on student body elections in particular. The controversy between the SLATE organization and the university administration became increasingly acute, and when SLATE managed to build key student body positions with its own candidates it became flushed with success to the point of arrogance.

The Koch Case

We have heretofore referred to a directive promulgated by President Clark Kerr of the University of California forbidding student organizations from expressing opinions on off-campus issues, and extending that prohibition to the student body executive committee. When Professor Leo Koch was dismissed from the University of Illinois in April 1960 because of a controversial letter that was published on the editorial page of the *Daily Illini*, a student newspaper at that University, SLATE and its campus supporters found an opportunity to directly challenge President Kerr's directive. The student executive committee accordingly passed a resolution on May 3, 1960, condemning the University of Illinois administration for its action in firing Professor Koch. Obviously, the action by the Illinois University administration in handling its own matters was no business of the student

* *Daily Californian*, October 6, 1958.

executive committee at the University of California, and the action was characterized by Dean William Shepard as a direct violation of the Kerr directives. He declared that the motion was completely out of order and not only took a stand on an off-campus issue but purported to represent the opinion of the Associated Students at the University of California. The executive committee motion was opposed by Bill Hawley, first vice-president of the student body, but pushed through by Dan Greenson, member of SLATE who was supported by Cindy Lembeke, Doug Moore, Maria Torrigino, Brian Van Camp, and Dave Armor. Cindy Lembeke and Dave Armor were members of the SLATE organization, and negative votes were cast by Bill Hawley, George Link, Jo Ann Phebolt, Dean Shepard, and faculty representative Armin Rappaport, abstaining. The lines were now drawn, and the University administration was given the direct challenge to its authority by the SLATE organization and its political adherents. There was now no question about the alternatives faced by President Kerr: he either had to admit that he was unable to enforce his directive, or he was placed in a position of having to take direct and positive action against these recalcitrant students who seemed determined to take over the control of the entire institution.

President Kerr acted in what we consider an admirable manner. He not only enforced the directive, but he moved quickly to squelch the arrogant activities of SLATE and to restore control of the Associated Students and its newspaper to the students themselves and to wrest it from the control of the radical minority that sought to use it for propaganda purposes instead of as the legitimate University student publication. We shall examine the steps President Kerr took in achieving these purposes in a subsequent portion of the report, but for the time being we will continue with an analysis of the SLATE organization, its indirect control of the student newspaper, and its influence on the riots that occurred in San Francisco in May of 1960, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities held its hearings in that city.

The Student Riots

On Wednesday, May fourth, 1960, the following editorial appeared in the *Daily Californian* headed "The Committee."

"As of Monday, some 48 persons had been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Committee's San Francisco hearings beginning next Tuesday, May 10.

Of these, some 12 or more are teachers; one is an undergraduate at the University.

The *Daily Californian* considers these hearings, the way they will be conducted and their very existence as an affront to American concepts of due process and political freedom and a violation of the first amendment to the Constitution.

We urge the members of the committee to repeat last year's performance when outraged public opinion drove them to abandon their attempt to intimidate the people of Northern California.

We further urge the abolishment of the entire Un-American Committee as it is now constituted and as it now operates.

Our basis for this demand is the contention that the present committee exists in the words of Supreme Court Justice Black: ' . . .

to try witnesses and to punish them because they are or have been Communists or because they refuse to admit or deny Communist affiliations.' (Dissent: In the case of Lloyd Berenblatt [sic] vs. United States of America.)

That the function of the committee is to try, by exposure to humiliation and shame, is born out by the fact that many of the presently subpoenaed witnesses have previously appeared before the committee and refused to testify. Thus their recall can only be taken as one of two things:

Either it is an attempt to convict and punish these people by exposing them to social and economic pressure or it is an attempt to force them to abrogate their constitutional rights under the pressure of repeated questioning. Both are a denial of due process; we must restore to Americans freedom from congressional inquisition and badgering based on ethical and political beliefs.

It should be further noted that many of the persons subpoenaed are educators and intellectuals. We feel that this is an expression of a desire on the part of the committee to strike at free thought and academic freedom. We call for the University community to resist the threat to the precious freedom which is the basis for all intellectual advancement and which a handful of congressmen are threatening.

We urge students to participate in the various protests which will be held between now and next Tuesday; and, further, if the committee has not decamped before that time, to participate in the picketing at the hearings. It will be an education for as many students who can be present to sit in on the hearings, which are open, and to observe the tenor of what we feel to be in the truest sense 'un-American activities.'

SENIOR EDITORIAL BOARD."

This is the same issue of the student paper that contained the article challenging the Kerr directive, another article entitled "Subpoenaed Student Tells 'Why'" and "Two City Teachers Subpoenaed, Fired." The subpoenaed student was later identified as, Douglas Wachter, the son of Saul Wachter, whose record will be discussed in a moment. When interviewed by representatives of the student newspaper Douglas Wachter said "I think the committee wanted to subpoena someone on campus in order to tag Cal's political movement as un-American. I don't know why they picked my name; people have been involved in actions similar to mine. I think they pick people whose ideas are liberal, radical, or in any way considered to be nonconformist. I will not be intimidated by the subpoena; I am going to fight this committee's invasion of my political freedom in every way that I can." This article continued with the announcement that a rally would be held in Dwinelle Plaza on the campus of the University for the purpose of discussing the hearings. A meeting was also planned for 8 o'clock on the evening of May 4 at Stiles Hall also on the University campus, where speakers would present their views on the workings of the Un-American Activities Committee.

The article about the two Berkeley teachers having been subpoenaed to appear before the committee and having been discharged from their positions because of that fact was entirely inaccurate in that one of

them, at the time this report is being written, is still teaching in the Berkeley City School system.*

Communist activity flourishes best when it can operate from concealed positions. During the era of the front organizations the Party was able to produce incalculable results by moulding our way of thinking in conformity with the Communist Party line through Communist-controlled organizations masquerading as liberal groups and operating in every facet of American life. When organized opposition to this type of activity began to get under way, and federal and state committees on un-American activities began to expose these front organizations for what they really were, they quickly diminished. Communist candidates have never attracted much support from the electorate by running on the Communist Party ticket, but when masquerading as liberals they have been able to capitalize to an amazing degree by mobilizing the liberal vote that was opposed to the conservative incumbents. In our schools the Communists function through organizations that carefully conceal Communist control, and pose as groups of progressive students who are seeking to bring about a better way of life.

We have explained in great detail in our 1959 report, and recapitulated here, the turn of events which brought about a stagnation in the activities of the American Communist Party. There were the adverse precedents established by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States; there were agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who were able to insinuate themselves into the highest levels of Communist Party organizations; there were successful prosecutions under the Smith Act that deprived the Party of its leadership; there were years of exposure by federal and state committees that laid before the public's gaze Communist organizational structures, techniques, propaganda lines, forces of propaganda, and general activity. Then came the shattering blow to some of the most faithful members of the Party when Stalin was attacked by Khrushchev. All of these elements combined to decimate the Party ranks. We explained, in our 1959 report, and repeat here, how the Communist Party gained some respite from this type of harassment, and having brought about a reversal of the Supreme Court decisions, it then sought to abolish the federal and state committees on un-American activities and to undermine public confidence not only in the F. B. I. but in all police authority. We have explained how Carey MacWilliams Senior was one of the leaders of this movement to liquidate legislative attacks against the Communist Party, we have explained the role that Frank Wilkinson played in that regard.

Readers of this report who have seen the motion pictures of the riot in San Francisco in May of 1961 may recognize Mr. Wilkinson conferring with adult and student Communists. We remind you that Mr. Wilkinson once held a high-salaried position with the Los Angeles City Housing Authority, and he was exposed before this Committee in an executive hearing, and discharged from his position in 1952. Mr. Wilkinson at one time directed the security apparatus of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. Since that time he has been engaged as a full-time coordinator of the Communist attempt to liquidate un-American activities committees on a nation-wide scale. No less

* He resigned after the above had been dictated.

an authority than J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has described the details by which the Communist Party of the Bay area organized the demonstration against the House Committee on May 12th to 14th, 1960. Much of the material describing that occurrence has been taken from a report by Mr. Hoover entitled "Communist Target—Youth, Communist Infiltration and Agitation Tactics." This report was published by the United States Government Printing Office at the instigation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and copies may be had by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The Communist Party of the United States passed a resolution to accelerate the abolition of the House and Senate committees on un-American activities at its Seventeenth National Convention in New York in December 1959. This resolution was implemented by the Party press through articles in *Political Affairs* and the *Daily People's World* in California. Similar resolutions were thereupon passed at meetings of the progressive youth organizations on the campuses of all the major educational institutions in this state. We have quoted in full the editorial printed in the student newspaper at the University of California in Berkeley prior to the hearings, soliciting students to participate in the demonstrations against the House Committee, and Mickey Lima, chairman of the Northern California District of the Communist Party, sent emissaries to Santa Rosa Junior College, San Francisco State College, San Jose State College, and the University at Berkeley for the purpose of coordinating the student organizations and also as much faculty support as could be mustered, for the coming demonstration. Mr. Hoover wrote:

"The Party line on the hearings and the general plan of attack were outlined and distributed early in May 1960 to all party members in the area in a memorandum captioned 'Memo on the Un-Americans.' It was a call to action, and rank-and-file party members in the area quickly responded.

Members of the San Jose Club of the Santa Clara County Communist Party circulated petitions and arranged for the publishing of a protest advertisement in a local San Jose newspaper.

Oakland Communist party members arranged for radio broadcasts and publication of protest advertisements in their area newspapers.

Fund drives were initiated in the various clubs to provide financial support for the attack.

On the evening of May 6, 1960, party leaders held a meeting to assess their progress and to plan further activity. Mickey Lima stated that the activity on the campus of the University of California and the other campuses had begun to pay dividends—students were beginning to call for demonstrations and picket lines to greet the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Lima then issued orders that each club representative in the area assume the responsibility of contacting every club member to insure that massive demonstrations would take place at the hearing. He also discussed the plans that had been formulated by the Communist Party Youth group in the East Bay area and

stated that he wanted them coordinated with the plans of the San Francisco group.

A telephone campaign was conducted by party members to solidify opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and was designed specifically to reach 1000 people. Merle Brodsky, an active leader in Communist Party affairs in California for more than twenty years, boasted that he was calling everyone he had ever known and enlisting support for the demonstration."*

Simultaneously with the campus activity, mobilization of student groups, telephone and publicity campaigns by members of the Communist Party itself, a few of the remaining front organizations were spurred into activity. The Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, the East Bay Community Forum and certain peripheral groups circularized their membership and concentrated on persuading non-Communist liberals to participate in the program. It is to be noted that the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms was usually confined to Southern California and that the Northern California chapter was organized in April 1960 for the express purpose of participating in the strategy to discredit the House Committee. Here, again, the ubiquitous Mr. Wilkinson displayed his organizational talents, going back and forth between San Francisco and Los Angeles as well as maintaining constant liaison with the front organizations and the student groups. His experience in charge of security for the Communist Party in Los Angeles and his fanatic dedication to Communism made him peculiarly capable in this role, and it may be parenthetically stated that one of this Committee's informants who was in the Party with Wilkinson in Los Angeles declared that he was the only Party member the informant had ever known who would not hesitate to carry out an act of extreme violence without the slightest hesitation if ordered to do so by his Communist superior.

The effort to enlist the aid of non-Communist liberals in strategy against the House Committee hearing was eminently successful. Several university professors from various institutions provided moral support and encouragement and some came boldly in the open and allowed their names to be used publicly in an effort to show that faculty members of the several universities were also eager to have the Committee discredited and abolished. The *Stanford Daily*, published at Stanford University on May 13th, 1960, declared that eleven professors at Stanford and San Jose State College had urged the Attorney General of the State of California to intercede for the purpose of protecting the rights of teachers and other citizens scheduled to appear before the House Committee, and the statement was signed and distributed not only to the Attorney General but to several newspapers of wide circulation. The Stanford professors who signed the statement were John B. Goheen, Robert North, Robert Turner, William Boner, D. M. Mendelowitz, Bernard F. Haley, and Conrad Krauskopf. Those from San Jose State were M. T. Bird, C. C. Coffey, Loise Henderson, and C. M. Larsen. In the same paper it was announced that the newly formed mid-Penninsula Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union held its first public meeting on May 12th at the Palo Alto Unitarian Church to discuss

* *Communist Target—Youth*, page 5.

methods by which the House Un-American Activities Committee could be abolished. At the meeting two releases were read from the Northern California Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, denouncing the House Committee and characterizing its operations as utterly useless.

Thus the stage was set, the Communist Party had effected its strategy and provided for a mass demonstration of hostility against the Committee in complete conformity with its resolution adopted at the Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, and for the obvious purpose of ridding itself of a highly effective instrumentality by which Congress could keep accurately and currently informed concerning nation-wide Communist activities, and which had harassed the Party until in desperation it was moved to make an all-out effort to attack the Committee by a mass demonstration.

As the critical day approached all Communist witnesses were carefully coached by Party lawyers and strategists. They were instructed to boldly defy the House Committee, to deliberately provoke incidents that would insure their forcible ejection from the hearing room, thereby adding propaganda fuel for the enlistment of sympathy from the crowd outside. Frank Wilkinson, Mickey Lima, Merle Brodsky, Archie Brown, and Saul Wachter—all veteran Communists—were to assume the leading roles.

Transportation from Berkeley to and from the place of the hearing in San Francisco was obligingly provided for the University students; the campus was deluged with propaganda leaflets excoriating the Committee; SLATE stepped up its high rate of abuse against both the University administration and the Committee, while its adherents on the editorial staff of the student paper depicted Douglas Wachter as a persecuted young liberal, confused and bewildered because he had been subpoenaed to appear before the Committee. We have quoted his statement to the *Daily Californian* surmising that he was summoned because the Committee picked "... people whose ideas are liberal, radical, or in any way considered to be non-conformist."

But young Wachter studiously omitted to tell the reporter for the student paper that he was a Communist Party member, and that he had gone to New York to participate in the Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States in December 1959 as an official delegate from the Party's Northern California division.

This eighteen year old youngster was a sophomore at the time of the demonstrations in San Francisco in May of 1960 and, while not carried as a formal member, was most active in SLATE affairs. He came to the University already Communized and needed no further indoctrination, having been raised in a Communist home. His father, Saul Wachter, had also played a prominent part in defying the House Committee when it had announced hearings to commence in San Francisco on December first, 1953. Here are a few of the elder Wachter's activities during that year:

Saul Wachter

In January 1953 Saul Wachter sent greetings to a publication called *Freedom* on the second anniversary of that magazine. Others whose names were publicly printed with Wachter's were: Virginia and

Rober Blauner, Berkeley 7; Mr. and Mrs. Greenberg, Berkeley; Pele and Steve Murdock, Berkeley; Mathilde Haslauer, Mill Valley; Nori and Travis Lafferty, Oakland; Paul Hudgins, Oakland; Alan A. Bristol, San Francisco; Lester A. Ford, San Francisco; Joe Johnson, San Francisco; Mr. and Mrs. B. Mick, San Francisco; United Office and Professional Workers of America, Local 503, San Francisco;* Bob Lindsay, Watsonville; Pat D'Agostini, Fair Oaks; Alice Byrnes, Berkeley; Olive C. Burroughs, Berkeley; Tom Lawrence, Berkeley; Donald H. Clark, Cupertino; Frances Harwayne, Oakland; Freda Small, Oakland; Domingo S. Barrera, San Francisco; California Labor School;† Rose Isaak, San Francisco; N. Lannge, San Francisco; M. Sanjines, San Francisco; Betty and Pete Winter, San Francisco; Mary Kulio, Sacramento.

The publication *Freedom* was published monthly by Freedom Associates, 53 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York. Its editorial board consisted of Paul Robeson, Chairman; Revels Cayton, Shirley Graham, Alphaeus Hunton, Modjeska M. Simkins, Louis E. Burnham, and George B. Murphy, Jr. It is interesting to note that the printer's symbol number 178 which appears on the publication in order to identify the place where it was printed and the local of the printer's union, is also found on virtually every other piece of Communist Party propaganda printed in the New York area.

On January second, 1953, the elder Wachter attended a meeting sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case at Willard High School at Berkeley. It will be noted that Vincent Hallinan, the father of three of the student members of SLATE, also attended this meeting. The Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case has been repeatedly identified as a Communist front organization. Other persons who attended were: J. B. Galbreath, Mary Lou Charter, Rose Eden, Alfred Geron, Sarah Lapidés, Mickey Lima, Dave Hipolito, Ozzo Marrow, Barbara Martin, Ray Rose, Billie Wachter, Steve Murdock, Pele Murdock, Mike Frieden, McCoy Hopson, James Allen Johnson, Buddy Green, Ray Thompson, Sheldon Baumrind, Jean Ball Johnson, Eloise Brown, James Cameron Forsyth, William Lowe, Lionel Martin, Roy Noftz, Ida Wood, Nat Yanish, Virginia Maher, Morton Newby, Ted Kalman, Mrs. Francis Tanby, Ann Adams, Lee Coe, Robert Dennis Crowley, Mike Dorsey, Eleanor Johnson, Ralph K. Johnsen, William Wiitala, Bertram Edises, Vincent Hallinan, Genola Burks.

On February thirteenth, 1953, Saul Wachter attended a meeting sponsored by the East Bay *People's World* Committee, *The People's World* being the Communist newspaper generally circulated throughout the State of California. This meeting was held at 8 P. M. in Finnish Hall, 1819 10th Street, Berkeley. Wachter was actually seen to enter the place where the meeting was held and to remain during the entire program. Other individuals were seen to leave cars parked in the vicinity and to enter the hall and remain until the program was over, the cars being registered to the following individuals: James McFadden, Oakland; Henry S. Dedrick, San Francisco; John W.

* A Communist-dominated union; see United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O., 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951, 1953, and 1959 Reports.

† Officially identified by both Federal and State Committees and by the United States Attorney General as a Communist educational institution.

Stark, Richmond; Russell Guerne DeLappe, Oakland; Norbert I. Knight, Oakland; Celia and Andrew Thompson, Crescent City; Evelyn Frieden, Oakland; Fred Zimmerling, Oakland; William A. Brownell, Berkeley; Charles Maki, Berkeley; Lloyd K. Vandever, Berkeley; Kent M. Barnes, Berkeley; Roy R. Noftz, Oakland; Ferdinand and Mattie Workman, Albany; Robert H. Jenkins, Oakland; V. Burda, San Leandro; Frank J. Woods, Martinez; John E. and Lola Mae Hughes, Richmond; Carl F. Hansen, Oakland; Floyd Colper and Tasecia Carice, San Pablo; Nat Yanish, Oakland; William J. Byrnes, Berkeley; Reverend James and Geneva Griffin, Berkeley; Terrence W. Greene, Oakland; Rose Dodds, Berkeley; James F. Snider, Inglewood; Raymond F. Thompson, Berkeley; Richard Grigsby, Los Angeles.

On the evening of July seventeenth, 1953, Joseph Clark, Moscow representative for the California Communist paper, *The Daily People's World*, lectured on his experiences in the Soviet Union to an audience in the Herman Sons Hall, 2016 Seventh Street, Berkeley. In addition to Saul Wachter, occupants were observed leaving automobiles registered to the following people, entering the place where the lecture was given and remaining until it was concluded: John D. King, Inc., Oakland; L. C. Clark, Berkeley; James McFadden, Oakland; A. C. and Ailee H. Scott, Hanford; G. H. Rand, San Francisco; Pacific Publishing Foundation, Inc., San Francisco; Patriek Hancock, Hayward; Robert Arnald, Oakland; Everett L. Nuttle, Oakland; Ralph K. and Jean B. Johnsen, Berkeley; Tyler S. Brooke, San Lorenzo; Mark A. Overholtzer, Oakland; Paul J. and Mary Ortiz, Daly City; Elizabeth McMullen, Oakland; Alfred Morris, Oakland; G. B. King, Emeryville; Michael Meyer Schneider, Berkeley; William and Elsie Beltram, Oakland; James A. Wesley, Albany; Wayne and Ruth Hultgren, Oakland; Irving A. Snider, Richmond; Ida Wood, Oakland; William E. and Helen M. Cook, Richmond; Marilyn N. and James B. Shiels, Berkeley; Leon Henriques, El Cerrito; Lloyd K. Vandever, Berkeley; Grace N. Griffiths, Berkeley; W. M. and Florence McCanvlsh, Oakland; Robert and Clara Raglund, Berkeley; Rose S. and Roger Paine, Richmond; Donald J. McClurg, Albany; Shell Development Company, Emeryville; Carl Brooks, Berkeley; Helen Davie Rytkenon, Kensington; Roy R. Noftz, Oakland; Theresa L. Lackey, Berkeley; William K. Mitchell, Berkeley; Walter J. Green, Richmond; Lloyd C. and Violet Street, Oakland; Jack Wolfman, Berkeley; Paul Weyer, Oakland; Frank J. Woods, Antioch; Alfred Sultan, Richmond; Marshall Norful, Berkeley; Audrey D. Belt, Richmond; Edises & Treuhaft, Oakland; Alvin J. Beckham, Oakland; Leona and Homer Chastain, San Pablo; Raymond and Betty Whitt, Hayward; William Wiitala, Albany; Luise Cames, Berkeley; R. C. Valpreda, Berkeley; Wilhelmine A. Loughrey, Orinda; Walter C. Permann, Oakland; Roger St. Helen, Berkeley; John Marks, San Leandro; Herbert S. Cohn, Oakland; Edward P. and Alice M. Beechert, Berkeley; G. B. Sonio, Mt. Eden; Joseph and Margery Eisler, Oakland; Frances and Claude E. Sechrest, Oakland; George R. Riba, Berkeley; Mayer Frieden, Oakland; Evelyn Sainsbury, Oakland.

On December fourth, 1953, Saul Wachter attended a meeting sponsored by the East Bay Committee for American Activities in the Willard High School Auditorium, Telegraph Avenue and Ward Street, Berkeley. This meeting was started about 8 o'clock in the evening, and

was held for the express purpose of whipping up antagonism toward the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The affair was headed by Dr. E. Richard Weierman, formerly on the University faculty at Berkeley, a specialist in public health, and mentioned in previous reports issued by this Committee in connection with its investigation of the infiltration of the medical profession in Los Angeles County by Communists. The East Bay Committee for American Activities was formed for the express purpose of opposing the House Committee. Besides Mr. Wachter, the following people were observed in attendance at the December fourth meeting: Bernice Amis, Robert Arnold, Dr. Sheldon Baumrind, Diane Baumrind, Gilbert Bendix, Esther Bernhart, Mary Irene Bonzo, Cliff Brissell, Celeste Brooks, Ostervald Carl Brooks, Tyler Brooks, Frank Bimbo Brown, Mary Brown, Mrs. Alice Byrnes, Mrs. Della Byrd, J. B. Carter, Rosalie Creque, John Dodds, William Doyle, Joe Eisler, Ole Fagerhaugh, James Cameron Forsyth, Laurent Frantz, Evelyn Frieden, Mike Frieden, Alfred Geron, Buddy Green, Mary Green, Edward Grogan, Marion Hammond, Marty Harwayne, Roberta Hypolito, Howard Jeter, Eleanor Johnson, Frances Johnson, James Allen Johnson, Charles Jones, Ephraim Kahn, Bernice Kalman, Gene Kalman, Herb Kalman, Therese Kalman, Della Kessler, Norbert Knight, Hazel Linton, William Lowe, Virginia Maher, Mary Lou Morrow, Ozo Morrow, Lionel Martin, Irwin Mayer, John McElhenry, Lou McMullen, Pete Murdock, Bob Neville, Annette Newman, Roy Noftz, Roger Paine, Sidney Roger, Boris Romanoff, Ben Rust, Helen Sale, Dr. Mary Sarvis, Irving Snider, Reverend Fred Stripp, Tom Tate, Frances Panby, Trevor Thomas, Jackie Thompson, Leila L. Thompson, Ray Thompson, Decca Treuhaff, Jean Rose Vandever, Lloyd Vandever, Billie Wachter, Dr. E. Richard Weierman, William Wiitala, Jack Wolfman.

We do not wish to imply that all of the individuals who attended each one of these meetings were Communists. But we do wish to state most emphatically that *most* of them were and that a liberal proportion of the remaining minority were ardent Fellow Travelers. We wish to point out that each of these meetings was conceived, dominated, and operated entirely by the Communist Party, and that at most of them Wilhemena Lowry, who operated the Communist book store in Berkeley, sold Party propaganda from a table located near the entrance to the hall where the program was presented. Those individuals who are familiar with previous reports issued by this Committee will also note that the same old names of Party enthusiasts crop up over and over again with monotonous regularity, going faithfully from one front organization to another, passing out literature, carrying signs in picket lines, dutifully screaming epithets at mass demonstrations, and doing all of the incredible chores the Party demands, thus isolating themselves completely away from other types of activity.

The Hoover Report discloses that F. B. I. agents had succeeded in penetrating deep into the top command of the Party and were thoroughly informed of the preparations for the riots. The F. B. I. knew, for example, that the son of a Sonoma County Communist was a student at San Francisco State College and had mobilized both faculty and student support at that institution. It knew that similar help would come from Santa Rosa Junior College. It learned that support had been mobilized at Stanford, at San Jose State College, and

in the Communist apparatus in the cities of San Jose, Oakland, Berkeley, San Francisco, and the adjacent territory. And the F. B. I. also was aware of a "secret" conference of Party brass held six days before the hearings opened and at which Mickey Lima reported in detail concerning preparations on the campuses of the institutions mentioned above.

The plan was first to wage an intensive and prolonged propaganda campaign to make certain that large numbers of non-Communists, already conditioned against the Committee, would be present at the hearings, and then to provoke a carefully planned series of incidents that would turn the spectators into an enraged mob. Key Communists were to act openly—Saul Wachter, Archie Brown, Merle Brodsky, and Bertram Edises. Others were to operate inconspicuously: nudging, exhorting, prodding and otherwise inciting the crowd to violence.

Shall We Riot?

The hearing room in the City Hall was, of course, too small to accommodate all who tried to gain admission, but the 36 belligerent witnesses and their supporters and their friends came early enough to to get seats and with the Communists and Fellow Travelers provided the standard hostile atmosphere in which the committee was compelled to work. Any large crowd milling about a public building attracts attention and when some carry signs and others hand out propaganda, up come the drunks, the bums, the pacifists, the do-gooders, the morbidly curious. These unsolicited but welcome recruits are usually not characterized by emotional stability and are easily aroused to a fever pitch either for or against almost anything.

Thus on the first day of the hearing the crowd was comprised of students, the uninvited host mentioned above, Fellow Travelers, and Communists. As witness after witness defied the Committee to an accompaniment of boos, sneers, and hisses, and invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to testify, and as the key Communists, Brown, Brodsky, Wachter, and Edises were forcibly ejected, their comrades outside played on the emotions of the crowd, depicting the witnesses as martyrs. Young Douglas Wachter hurled a brief case at the officer who was removing his struggling father from the hearing room. Each unruly and defiant witness continued to struggle even outside and it was simple to involve some of the spectators.

On the second day, May thirteenth, news of the excitement had spread and the crowd was swelled to at least double its original size. In our 1959 report we explained how many Communists had dropped out of Party activity because they believed the Party was not sufficiently militant. Now many of these former members appeared and enthusiastically participated in this class-struggle demonstration. They comprise a part of the deadly Communist Party "fall-out" we discussed at length in 1959—a reservoir of ex-Communists that has been building up strength since the Party was born in September 1919.

As the tension mounted it soon became evident that this was far from a haphazard group of students and other haters of the Committee. Leaders appeared, and assumed positions of authority. The crowd grew constantly larger. Sound technicians and newsreel cameramen appeared to record the proceedings on tape and film.

Supplies of slogans, leaflets and other propaganda materials were available, and the demonstrators were abundantly provided with picket signs and song sheets. The noise finally became so intense that court proceedings in the building were completely disrupted and one of the judges ordered the mob dispersed. It refused to leave and was doused with streams of water from fire hoses. This immediately provoked more physical demonstrations.

Sixty-eight persons, most of them students, were arrested for inciting a riot and resisting arrest and soon after order had been restored Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, appeared on the scene and arrogantly demanded what part firemen had played in the use of fire hoses, contending that he would try to force through a cut in their pay. He was welcomed enthusiastically by some of the Communists, notably Archie Brown.

On May 14 there were approximately two thousand persons in the crowd. The police arrived with heavy reinforcements, and even after the hearing was adjourned the multitude angrily milled about listening to impromptu speeches and receiving the propaganda material that was liberally distributed. Motion pictures that were taken of the demonstrations, and are now being shown throughout the state. These pictures speak for themselves and show the proceedings in all their ugly and stark realism; those few individuals who are concerned with counter-subversive activities can readily identify the leading Communist Party figures as they moved about performing their assigned tasks with a military precision, according to plan. In an effort to offset the profound effect this motion picture is having wherever it is viewed, the Communist Party is now starting a campaign of seeking to undermine the picture by charging that it was heavily edited in favor of the Committee. We understand that in the November 24 issue of *The Reporter*, which will have been published and distributed by the time this report goes to the printer, this charge of slanted editing will be made in an article that will occupy a feature position in the magazine.

It will be somewhat difficult, however, for the Party to contend that the eye witness accounts of several ministers who were present and saw the entire proceeding has either been slanted or edited. We therefore present these eye witness accounts in full. A joint statement was issued by the ministers as follows:*

"More than a dozen ministers were in attendance at the Congressional hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco on May 12 and 13 in the Supervisor's Chambers in the City Hall. What we witnessed was utterly fantastic. The shameful demonstration against law and order and against this duly constituted committee of the Congress defies description. We sat in the rear of the room on a raised platform where we could easily observe the proceedings, right in the midst of the student demonstrators. We studied the crowd carefully for hours and could easily

* A joint statement by Dr. G. Archer Weniger of Oakland, Rev. Don Watson of Oakland, Dr. H. Austen of San Francisco, Rev. Robert F. Hakes of Alameda, Dean William G. Bellshaw of the San Francisco Baptist Seminary, Dr. H. O. Van Gilder of the Western Baptist Bible College, Dr. Arno Weniger of San Francisco. Reprinted from *The Blue-Print* published periodically by the Foothill Boulevard Baptist Church, 1530 Foothill Boulevard, Oakland 6, California, Volume 10, Number 20; May 17, 1960.

discern which were the master minds of the mob riots. It is our certain conviction that this indefensible attack against law and order was conceived, planned, and directed by a few hard-core Communist agitators who were carrying out their textbook orders on insurrection with classic success. Leaders of the mob included faculty members and well-known leftist lawyers for the fifth-amendment Communists.

We were sitting where we were able to observe the giving of instructions by the riot leaders who had gained access to the room. *The Daily Californian*, which was distributed widely at the scene, gave explicit instructions on the front page of the Thursday issue on exactly how to harass the Committee. They were told to laugh out loud at every incident that appeared to be amusing in order to make the Congressmen look ridiculous. These well-disciplined mobsters laughed on the dotted line and obeyed their masters to the last jeer. We watched a National Committeeman for the Party line up a dozen Communists near the railing and throw every sneer, invective, abusive language, vile profanity and fiendish charges at the Congressmen they could conceive. For nearly fifteen minutes at one point, this lawless crowd of students from the University, together with Party cadres had the chambers almost in their control. The students, comprising the rear third of the audience, stood up on their seats and yelled, jeered, hissed, and scoffed at the Congressmen. It was almost complete breakdown of law and order. We witnessed more violations of the law in 15 minutes than we have seen in 15 years! The only criticisms we have of the police authorities were of allowing this element to make such a mockery out of law and order, without jailing every one of the leaders.

The height of their devilish hypocrisy was reached when they had the consummate nerve to profane the national anthem by singing it at the peak of their demonstration, and giving expression to their treasonable delight by singing 'mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.' The depth of their deceit was reached when this mob element put their hand over their heart and pledged allegiance to the flag. We shall never forget the hisses and boos that greeted Mr. Arens when he first mentioned the name of God in connection with one who broke from the Party.

We are at a loss to understand how clergymen, such as Bishop James Pike, could give any aid and comfort to this lawless kind of activity by statements deriding the Committee, and by allowing his assistant pastor to address one of their despicable rallies.

We came away from this hearing absolutely convinced of the overwhelming necessity of continuing the House Committee on Un-American Activities. No free agent could view the hearings without being impressed with the fairness, justice, and dedication to a thankless, but positively necessary task. Chairman Edwin Willis was unusually temperate and patient. We have nothing but unbounded admiration for Richard Arens, Committee Counsel, whose skill and understanding of this perilous conspiracy was a blessing to behold. We apologize to these devoted public servants from Congress for the devilish and deceitful conduct of an infinitesimally small but alarmingly arrogant, segment of this area

who are willing to be tools of the Communist conspiracy, which would make a shambles out of the liberty which marks this great nation as the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover concluded his report as follows:

"The Communist Party, U. S. A., is elated with the success it enjoyed in attempting to make a fiasco of the House Committee on Un-American Activities San Francisco hearings, which, notwithstanding these attempts at disruption, did develop valuable and needed information concerning the strategy, tactics, and activities of the Party in Northern California. The Party's elation is so great, in fact, that it bears witness to the truth of the observation that such a Communist coup has not occurred in the San Francisco area in 25 years. Immediately after the affair ended, the Party's national leader, Gus Hall, congratulated the West Coast comrades for the initiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the demonstration.

Particularly pleasing to Party officials was the number of students involved in the demonstration. They commented that there had not been that much single 'political activity' among student groups for years. Archie Brown, especially, was commended for the tremendous job he had done among the students, working with them in the corridors of City Hall and winning their sympathy.

Mickey Lima expressed his pleasure at the number of former Party members the affair had brought back into the fold. He said that individual supporters the Party had not seen or heard of in years seem to 'emerge from the woodwork' in response to the Party's campaign.

Various Party functionaries on the West Coast reported that the successful demonstrations had a noticeable effect on luke-warm Party members. One Party official commented that it was a single 'shot in the arm' for the Party, as shown by the fact that attendance at club meetings had risen sharply.

The management of the Party's West Coast publication, *People's World*, was jubilant about the beneficial effect the demonstrations had had upon a fund drive being conducted for the newspaper. The paper reportedly received letters from individuals throughout this country, as well as from others abroad, supporting the drive.

In short, the consensus in the Communist Party was that the riot was the best thing for the Party that had occurred in years. Party leaders expressed the opinion that it was especially significant that the Party had been able to enlist the support of so many people in all walks of life when the Party itself was publicly under attack by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The feeling was that not only had the Party taken a major step toward its goal of abolishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but also it had taken a major step toward playing a greater role on the American scene.

The Party did not rest on its laurels after the success it enjoyed in the attack on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It is campaigning harder than ever to attract youth and student

groups to its ranks and is using the successful demonstrations to implement the campaign.

At a Party meeting on the night of May 20, 1960, Archie Brown disclosed how the Party intended to use a follow-up campaign with campus students as the target. He stated that the Party planned to emphasize 'police brutality' as a rallying cry to attract the sympathy of student groups. He pointed out that he was particularly pleased with the fact that he had been invited to speak at Stanford University, adding that he had already spoken to the students at the University of California in Berkeley. Brown said that the *People's World* had prepared a special supplement about the demonstrations for distribution to all the colleges and universities in the area, as well as to distribution to all water front workers.

The campaign is being carried out exactly as Brown outlined it. Not only Brown, but other Communists, too, have been addressing student and youth groups in the area.

The Party prepared 20,000 leaflets for distribution on campuses in the area. Captioned 'From Blackmail to Blackjack,' the leaflets expressed the theme that, at the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings 'students were peacefully defending the most cherished American freedoms,' when 'fire hoses, clubs and black-jacks' were used against them 'without warning and without provocation' to 'brow beat and smash the public opposition' to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. These leaflets were distributed by the Party organization without cost for the sole purpose of exploiting the on-campus sympathies of students in the area.

A very significant feature of the leaflet is the lure it dangles for the innocent. It contains a box to be filled in by those who would like to receive a complimentary copy of the *People's World*.

While it must be granted that the San Francisco riot at the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings was the best thing that had happened for the benefit of the Communist Party in years, Americans, too, can benefit from this display of Communist strategy and tactics in operation. In fact, it is impossible to stand idly by in the face of the challenge that this Communist success represents.

The Communists demonstrated in San Francisco just how powerful a weapon Communist infiltration is. They revealed how it is possible for only a few Communist agitators, using mob psychology, to turn peaceful demonstrations into riots. Their success there must serve as a warning that their infiltration efforts aimed not only at the youth and student groups, but also at our labor unions, churches, professional groups, artists, newspapers, government, and the like, can create chaos and shatter our internal security.

The Communists also demonstrated that the menace of Communism is not a simple forthright threat. Instead, it is a conspiracy which can be controlled only through full understanding of the true nature of the conspiracy and the ability to separate truth from propaganda. Seen in the true reporting of the facts, the

San Francisco incident exposes the conspiratorial nature of the Party. Every such exposure of the tactics of Communism can be used to destroy its ideological appeal and used to strengthen this nation against the psychological pressures Communists constantly apply against every aspect of our society to weaken it.

Throughout the world today, governments are toppling with stunning rapidity. Whether large or small, the role Communists are playing in these events must not be discounted. The growing strength of our nation over the years has not proven a deterrent to relentless efforts on the part of the Communist Party, U. S. A., to destroy our security and prepare our nation for a similar fate.

Looking at the riots and chaos that Communists have created in other countries, many Americans point to the strength of our nation and say 'It can't happen here.' The Communist success in San Francisco in May 1960 proves that it can happen here.

All our hopes for the future of our country, as well as for a world at peace, are bound up with our hopes for the future of our nation's youth. They will not fail us if we do not fail them. Only our apathy and laxity in the face of the threat which Communist infiltration efforts represent can cause such a failure. It is the duty of all Americans to fully understand the true import of this threat to our heritage, to expose it, and to combat it with every weapon at our command.

The overwhelming majority of our nation's youth has demonstrated that it deserves our confidence and support. It has shown an increasing awareness and an interest in both national and international affairs, including a penetrating and analytical approach to the false appeals of Communism. With our whole hearted support and guidance, the youth of this nation will meet the challenge which Communism hurls at us—both today and in the years to come—defending, preserving, and expanding throughout the world the heritage of free men which we enjoy today.

Congratulations from Moscow

In 1943 the Soviet Union launched a new propaganda publication called *New Times*, printed it in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Polish, Czech, and Roumanian, and distributed it throughout the world. By carefully reading this lavishly-illustrated magazine, one can get a fairly accurate idea of the current Communist Party line, particularly when comparing the contents of that publication with others of a similar nature issued in this country. The issue for May 16, 1960, contained on page 24 this salute to those responsible for creating the revolutionary situation in San Francisco:

"The San Francisco City Hall has lately been guarded by a small army of police. Why? To protect the members of the House Un-American Activities Sub-Committee come to conduct hearings on 'Communist activities' in the area. Fourteen people have already been hailed before this inquisition, among them, several teachers.

The un-Americans' arrival caused a big stir of protest. A committee for civil rights was set up in the city, and in response to

its call pickets appeared at the City Hall on May 12, some four hundred of them the papers say, mostly students. They carried signs telling the witch-hunters to go home, to leave their teachers alone and to stop thought control, and denouncing police terror in the state.

The next day the demonstrators tried to get into the hearing-room to demand an end to the shameful proceedings. When police blocked the way, they sat down chanting 'abolish the committee.' Thereupon another 300—400 police were called out—and a *New York Post* correspondent describes very vividly what happened then. When the sub-committee prepared to resume its hearings in the morning, he writes, 'there was still blood on the broad marble staircase leading from the rotunda to the hearing-room. It was down these thirty-eight steps that those who protested the hearings were clubbed, beaten, soaked with high-pressure fire hoses, and dragged kicking and screaming by white-helmeted police.' Never in twenty years as a reporter, he adds, had he seen such brutality. Twelve of the demonstrators had to be sent to hospitals, seventy were locked up.

This is not the first time the un-Americans are staging investigations in San Francisco. They made their first attempt last summer but met with a reception that made them get out. Now they are bent on getting their way, if only with the help of police bludgeoning. But the events at the San Francisco City Hall show that America is revolting against McCarthyism. Fear of the witch-hunters is giving place to a determination to end the shame of the witch-hunt."

THE SUBTLE APPROACH

It is quite true that few of the students who participated in the May 1960 riots were members of the Communist Party. A minority of them had affiliated with SLATE at the University of California, some with the Young Socialist League, or with some of the Marxist-oriented youth groups that have been flourishing in American universities since the dissolution of the Labor Youth League, which was the youth apparatus of the Communist Party. Many more were simply hoodwinked by the propaganda campaign and aroused to animosity against the Committee, and still more were merely curious participants who were motivated by no particular political bias. But when the incidents of violence were provoked by the adult Communist leaders, and these non-Communist students were hit with streams of water from high pressure hoses and given a taste of police authority when the milling crowd refused to disperse, they quickly became antagonistic toward all sorts of authority, the House Committee, the Fire Department, and the Police Department. This precise reaction had been anticipated by the Communist strategists who planned the entire undertaking, and they were quick to follow up their advantage. When protests were made to the University authorities, their response was that since the incident occurred in San Francisco it was off the University campus and out of the jurisdiction of the administration. When it was pointed out that the student newspaper had been a part and parcel of the entire cam-

paign, inflaming the students with sensational propaganda that had nothing whatever to do with the operation of the University or any campus activity, the authorities were quick to act, with the results that will be analyzed in detail a little later.

National Communist Objective: Recruitment of Youth

It now remains to be seen whether or not this was simply a local occurrence or whether it was part and parcel of a nationwide Communist movement to infiltrate the universities and the trade unions and to launch a nationwide and intensive campaign for the recruitment of youth to provide future leaders for the Party and to swell its decimated ranks.

In our 1959 report we quoted from Communist sources as far back as 1952 to the effect that the Party intended to bring about a change in the judicial precedents that had been established by decisions of the United States Supreme Court and which had resulted in enormous hardship to the Party and its leaders. We pointed out how judicial precedent was indeed changed, and how the Party took credit for bringing about that result. We now wish to quote from Communist Party sources for the purpose of removing any lingering doubt in the minds of the most naive and skeptical individuals that precisely the same sort of campaign was announced several years ago for the purpose of launching the Party campaign to recruit the youth of the nation. The occurrence in San Francisco was simply a part of this most ambitious program and we predict that the campuses of every major university in the State will be plagued with a revival of Communist activities, both overt and covert, in the immediate future. Already new Marxist youth organizations have been planted at U. C. L. A., and there are plans to duplicate them at Stanford, San Jose State, San Francisco State, Chico State College and the campus of the University of California at Berkeley.

The most basic and important article from authentic Communist sources on the recruitment of youth appeared in June 1959. It was an article entitled "On Party Youth Work," by Hyman Lumer, published in *Political Affairs*, the ideological publication of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States. There is no more authoritative Communist source. Every word of this article is of vital importance, but it is too long to reproduce here. The following excerpts show exactly what the Party intended to do a year before the mass demonstration in San Francisco. Lumer said:

"In the momentous struggle for peace, democracy and social progress taking place today, the youth of our country occupy a uniquely important position. Hence, they are a vital element of the mass base of any working-class or socialist organization, not least of the Communist Party. *The Party cannot wage successfully the fight for progress and socialism without striving to win a solid base among the youth, and without a continual influx of young people into its ranks.* (Committee's italics)

The dissolution of the Labor Youth League and the subsequent abandonment of attention to youth work were among the worst consequences of the crisis through which the Party has just passed.

For a considerable period of time, there has been a virtually complete void in this field of activity—a void which is only now beginning to be filled. For this serious lag, the Party leadership at all levels must accept full responsibility.

Today there are mounting indications of a revival of the mass youth movement, and with this of a growing interest of young people in progressive and Communist views, as well as in the lands of socialism. Accompanying these developments, has been a growth of mass activity among Party youth, and a growing interest in and movement towards the re-establishment of a Marxist youth organization. Much of the discussion on youth organization, however, has been unrelated to the current mass struggles and developments in the mass youth movement, and therefore has tended to be rather abstract. This is indicative of the continued isolation of the bulk of the youth in and around the Party from most of these experiences. What is required at this point is an examination of the status of the youth movement and of youth work generally, and the working out of a Party policy and program in this field. The specific problems of youth organization need to be viewed in relation to this over-all picture. This report undertakes to deal with these questions. It is, however, in no sense exhaustive or final; in particular, it makes no effort to present the kind of detailed study and analysis of attitudes, activities and trends among American youth which a full examination of youth work requires. This still remains to be done."

In discussing the status of the youth movement, Lumer points out that during the thirties the American Youth Congress, comprising 11,000,000 members, spread its influence throughout the country under the domination of the Communist Party, and that the Young Communist League grew from 3,000 members in 1933 to 22,000 in 1939. In the deep South the Southern Negro Youth Congress flourish under Party direction. But during the years of the Cold War and during congressional and state committee investigations the youth movement sharply declined. During the present era, however, Lumer declares that there is a second area of wide and growing youth activity in the peace movement.

"Throughout the country," says he, "large numbers of young people are today involved in such activities through a variety of religious and pacifist organizations—through the Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, church groups, and such organizations as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. And on many college campuses, student or student-faculty committees have been formed to fight for an end to nuclear tests and the outlawing of nuclear weapons. These activities are as yet scattered and uncoordinated—a feature of the peace movement as a whole—and the Left generally is unfortunately still remote from them. But they are clearly indicative of the potentialities for the building of a powerful mass youth movement for peace.

A third area, of increasingly acute concern, is the rise in unemployment. This situation does not spontaneously produce an organized movement of unemployed youth, nor, if left to itself, is it likely to do so. On the contrary, such young people, unfat-

miliar with the role and history of the labor movement, all too easily fall prey to anti-labor propaganda and are led to blame their plight on the union."

The Communist Party's responsibility for direct action to organize a mass Communist youth movement is explained by Mr. Lumer on page seven of his article as follows:

"... what is needed today is to plunge the Party's forces unstintingly into these mass activities and into tackling the problems entailed in their further development. It is in the mass movements and struggles of the youth that the basis lies for organized youth activity in our ranks and for the building of progressive youth organizations. Indeed, these broad activities which are now developing have already given new life to youth groups in and around the Party, groups which had previously been drifting and inactive.

Above all, the Party, as a Party of the working class, representing the interests of all working people, should be in the forefront of such struggles. It is necessary particularly to emphasize the fact that youth work is the responsibility not of the Party youth alone but of the Party as a whole. For it is not youth alone who are involved in the mass struggle for the demands and needs of youth. Rather, adult initiative and leadership are essential features of such struggles, and in such areas—the fight for better schools, for example—the movements are primarily movements of adult groups and organizations.

We must therefore put an end to the erroneous tendency to equate youth work with the work of the youth alone, which has too often characterized our approach in the past. On the contrary, it must be regarded as the task of the entire Party, and the necessary program and organizational apparatus must be established for carrying it on."

The article mentions the conditions that existed immediately after the dissolution of the young Communist organization known as the Labor Youth League, as follows:

"Among the Party youth in the Labor Youth League some found their way into various Party clubs and into other fields of Party activity. Others, fewer in number, were organized into Party youth clubs. Still others left the Party and political activity, though some of these have remained as study groups, in some cases hostile to the Party. In one state the Labor Youth League did not dissolve but continued to exist, though changing its name and organizational form.

Today there exists a variety of organizational forms, Party and non-Party, Marxist and non-Marxist. Some districts have functioning youth commissions, usually consisting of both youth and adults. In a number of areas there are Party clubs. In some of these the membership is chiefly teen-age. But for the most part the clubs consist of young adults, many married and with families, and oriented away from youth work. Most Party youth, however, are not in youth clubs.

A number of non-Party Marxist youth groups have sprung up, chiefly on college campuses. These, usually loose-knit and informal in character, have been devoted principally to discussion and education. An outstanding instance is the *Student Committee on Progressive Education (S.C.O.P.E.)* in New York which has organized Marxist classes enrolling over 100 students at a time. In fact, there is generally a wide and growing interest in Marxist education among youth.

There exists also a great variety of teen-age groups in different parts of the country, generally non-Marxist in character but under Marxist guidance or leadership. Some of these are choral groups; one is built around a summer camp; others are organized around other cultural or social activities. In various degrees they participate in political struggles—today to a wide extent in the Youth March. In one area, there is a pre-teen group consisting of youngsters eleven—twelve years of age.

In all of this profusion of groups and organizations, there exists little or no coordination, and no over-all program of youth work as a guide to activity. There are, to be sure, the beginnings of a youth page in the *Worker* but this is as yet highly inadequate in content and scope. And there is a great diversity of opinion as to the direction which the progressive youth movement should take.

Other Left youth organizations remain, on the whole, comparatively small and uninfluential. The Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance which has paraded itself as a 'united' youth organization and still publishes a newspaper, has only a handful of followers and has succeeded in obtaining a footing only on a few college campuses. For the most part, those attracted by it were soon repelled, some to become completely disillusioned and to drop out of political activity.

The Y.P.S.L. (Young People's Socialist League) following the entrance of a group of Schachtmanite youth after the merger of the Schachtman group with the Socialist Party last year, has become very active in a number of areas and has begun to issue a newspaper, *The Challenge*. But its total membership and influence is small."

Student Organizations At Berkeley

During the first semester of 1957 a student organization called TASC (Toward a Better Student Community) was started by three students who were dissatisfied with the operation of the Associated Students at the University of California in Berkeley and who were concerned with academic freedom and civil liberties. This student political organization was designed to place its own candidates in places of responsibility through student elections, and to campaign actively for its principles. The campaign was unsuccessful, however, but during the second semester it became stronger and attracted a considerable following. The *Daily Californian* editorialized in its issue of October 16, 1957, by saying that:

"According to Miller, TASC will work on the subject of atom bombs and human rights this year. All of which is fine, but we

would like to remind Mr. Miller and his cohorts that this is a year of change in the university community. We sincerely hope they will not neglect to express their opinions on student and university problems as well."

TASC gradually dropped out of existence at Berkeley, but an organization by the same name, this time the letters standing for "toward an active student community," was planted at San Jose State College in 1959. As we have heretofore stated, the San Jose operation was conducted with the extremely active assistance of student representatives from the University of California campus, and the first mimeographed information circulated by the San Jose State College organization declared that:

"Student government at San Jose State College is less an institution of meaningful political activity than it is an extension of high school activity. It is an institution that does not greatly influence the lives of the average student and therefore has received little mass support. It is an organization of neither sound nor fury; one that signifies nothing."

The statement concluded by declaring that:

"Unless students themselves fill the 'power vacuum,' student government will remain at the sand box stage of development, for when the average voter has no effective voice in government, he will not participate in that government. We believe that the only remedy for this situation is political organization. TASC, Toward an Active Student Community, is San Jose State College's first genuine political party. Based on the belief that student government should and can be an expansive and meaningful institution, TASC hopes to be the force that will vitalize student government. Your support is needed if TASC is to succeed."

In the meantime TASC faded out of existence on the Berkeley campus and was replaced by SLATE, with much the same purposes but a more radical membership. In 1958 the officers of SLATE were: Chairman, Al Madian; Vice-Chairman, Dave Armour; Secretary, Brenda Goodman; Treasurer, Brad Cleaveland; Representatives, Dick Bowen, Howard Taylor, Pete Graham, and Marvin Sternberg; committee officers within the organization were: Administration, Jim Payne; National Student Association, Marvin Sternberg; Education Policy, Ted Kompanetz; Athletic Policy, Bob Gillen; Civil Liberties, Mike Shutz; Student Welfare, Bob Orser; A. S. U. C. Analysis, Ted Kompanetz; National and International, Jim Gallagher; State and Local, Dick Bowen.

By the end of 1958 school year, SLATE publication, *Cal Reporter*, owned a press, formerly the property of Lawrence Steinhardt, a graduate student in social welfare. Financially, the paper had a cash reserve of \$100 remaining from the previous semester but owed a balance of \$135 on printing equipment. Cash donations were received from Carey McWilliams, Jr., who gave \$250; Al Madian who donated \$50; David Rynan, Jr., the son of Professor David T. Rynan of the Department of Speech, who not only edited the paper but donated \$60; Peter Frank, who gave \$100 and Pete Graham who contributed \$90.

An example of the attitude of SLATE toward the University administration in general may be seen from the following excerpts from editorials appearing in the issue of its paper for October 4, 1958. Apparently the students were somewhat disillusioned about the attitude of President Clark Kerr, who was beginning to crack down on the activities of student groups like SLATE that were becoming arrogant and actually interfering with the orderly conduct of the student body at the University. The editorial took President Kerr to task for decreeing that there would be no more student demonstrations outside of the front gate of the University, as follows:

"Hooray for President Kerr. His experimental suspension of the rule keeping candidates for state office from speaking on campus is a step toward giving campus life some semblance of 'real' life. We only wish that the administration would not take two steps backward before they take one forward. What we're referring to is the outlawing of street speakers at Sather Gate.

Vice-Chancellor Sherriffs has graciously given speakers a chance to stand in an ivy patch the University is giving to the city anyway. We think that's mighty big of them, but we wish that the 'new spirit' didn't mean the end of one of the best 'old traditions.' The *Daily Cal* has come out for retention of Sather Gate as a haven for free speech. And Ex com has sent a letter to the administration to the same effect.

So far, nothing has come of it. But judging by our own experience, we suggest that they inquire whether the Administration ever 'received' it at all."

In the same issue the editorial writer expressed himself concerning the administration's disinclination to take any action permitting the *Cal Reporter* to be distributed among the students on the campus. The editorial writer complained "It's been almost six months since the *Cal Reporter* applied for permission to distribute on campus, and can you guess what's happened? Nothing."

These demonstrations at Sather Gate, which is the main entrance to the University at Berkeley, had continued for a good many years. Meetings usually occurred during the noon hour when thousands of students emerged from their classes and went through Sather Gate on their way to lunch. Virtually all of these meetings were of an extremely radical nature, the crowd being harangued by speakers and handed propaganda by student organizations of one kind or another. On many prior occasions Communist Party officials had addressed the students immediately outside the front gate of the University, and about a block away the Communist book store kept supplies available under the ministrations of Mrs. Wilhemena Loughrey, who has appeared as a witness before our Committee and who has been referred to on numerous occasions in our earlier reports. Even after the University exercised its right of eminent domain and acquired property immediately adjacent to Sather Gate, the student demonstrations continued until President Kerr and his administration became convinced that such activity should not be permitted to continue on the property of the University and ordered the meetings stopped.

Three of the sons of Attorney Vincent Hallinan were associated with SLATE. In 1952 their father, as has been indicated, was a candidate for election to President of the United States on the Independent Progressive Party ticket. His running mate, the candidate for Vice-President, was Charlotta Bass, the publisher of a paper in Los Angeles called the *California Eagle*. We have mentioned both Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass on previous occasions, and have devoted a great deal of attention to the Independent Progressive Party. It should suffice to point out here that the Independent Progressive Party has been thoroughly exposed as a creature of the Communist apparatus, and completely dominated by the Communist Party from start to finish. In California the head of the Independent Progressive Party was Hugh Bryson, former president of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, which was probably the union more heavily saturated with Communists than any other in the United States during the period of Mr. Bryson's tenure as chairman.* When Bryson swore falsely concerning his connection with Communist activities he was convicted of perjury and sent to a federal penitentiary.

On October 13, 1952 there was a student demonstration at Sather Gate sponsored Youth for Hallinan and Bass, the demonstration commencing at noon and continuing until 2:00 P. M. On November 3, 1952 there was a demonstration at Sather Gate commencing at 11:45 and terminating at 1:15, sponsored by the same organization, and on this occasion Mr. Hallinan appeared in person and addressed the students at considerable length.

Professor David T. Rynin Senior, father of the editor of the SLATE publication, teaches in the Speech Department of the University in Berkeley. Professor Rynin's interest in the Communist Party first manifested itself when he signed a petition in the thirties asking that the Party be permitted to participate in the state ballot. His interest in civil liberties was manifested when he proposed to the Northern Section of the Academic Senate of the University that it adopt a rule whereby all faculty members would decline to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other governmental agencies in all cases where inquiries were made about the loyalty of students being considered for federal jobs. Professor Rynin made his proposal at a meeting of the Academic Senate on May 20, 1958, and a part of the resolution read as follows:

"This faculty asserts that freedom of discussion in the classroom and in academic consultation is fundamental to higher education. The essential freedom of the university can be seriously jeopardized if argument and expression of opinion are inhibited, particularly in those subjects which are held controversial in some quarters and in some moments of history.

Therefore, reports by a teacher concerning the beliefs, attitudes and activities, and the associations of a student regarding religion, politics, and public affairs in general, are not permissible when the reports are based on information acquired by the teacher in the course of instruction or in the course of other student-teacher relations that involve the student's academic program."

* It has since been reorganized and is not now under Communist domination.

The Committee on Academic Freedom reported to the faculty organization that undoubtedly the situation would be eased if University officials would get the word to investigators that a new principle had been adopted at the University of California under which a faculty member could not say whether a student was or was not a security risk. He would have to state that University rules forbade him from answering any such loyalty inquiries.

We discussed this matter at length in our 1959 Report commencing on page eighty-one. We shall have more to say about the counter-action taken by President Kerr and his administration a little later; that action had been taken after our 1959 Report was in the hands of the printer and we are pleased to discuss it at length in that portion of this report dealing with the general situation at the State University.

We have already seen how the SLATE organization was used as a transmission belt through which to reach the student body at large. We do not wish to imply that the members of SLATE were Communists or that the organization was a Communist front, since we are well aware that such was not the case. It is perfectly evident, however, that some of the most active leaders in the organization were strongly oriented toward Marxism and Communism, that many could be characterized as enthusiastic Fellow-Travelers, many others were simply willing to be led by their more articulate and energetic colleagues, and still more were imbued with unreasoning hatred toward the House Committee by a steady barrage of insidious and extremely clever propaganda. During the period immediately preceding the demonstrations in San Francisco against the House Committee, the SLATE membership was as follows:

Aitkins, Dunbar; Appleby, Mike; Armor, Dave; Asturias, Mireya; Bard, Cori; Bell, Duran; Hermann, Ellon; Bowen, Dick; Brunner, Alice; Burke, John; Butler, Leo Jr.; Callenbach, Elizabeth; Calvin, Paul; Campbell, Barbara; Cleveland, Brad; Cleveland, Pete; Coleman, Mary; Cook, Lila; Cosmides, Angelo; Crawford, Nebby; Davis, Rodger; English, Nancy; Ferdun, Gareth; Fibush, David; Fitz, John; Fowler, Jo Ann; Gallagher, Jim; Garlin, Vic; Gillen, Bob; Gong, Tom; Goodman, Brenda; Greenson, Dan; Griffiths, John; Gucousky, Mike; Hall, Peter and Aline; Hallinon, Kayo; Hallinan, Tuffy; Hilf, Frank; Jencks, Linda; Johnson, Robert; Caplan, Marshall; Kiepert, Donald; Kompanetz, Ted; Kopke, Lynn; Kovner, Pat; Kroll, Steven; Kuda, Louise; Logios, Michael D.; Laurence, Joan; Legarre, Enrique; Lembeke, Cindy; Lenske, Aryay; Lipow, Art; Linden, Pat; Manning, Cathy; McCord, Paula; McGrew, Don; McWilliams, Carey; Moss, Rod; Myerson, Mike; Nestle, Marion; Nichols, Debbie; Orser, Bob; Payne, Tim; Peace, Mike and Ann; Robertson, Jim; Roos, Phil; Rynan, David; Schoenfeld, Leslie; Schutz, Mike; Shipnuck, Dave; Sigaloff, Gene; Sloane, Rodney; Solomon, Ernest; Solomonow, Allan; Steinhart, Larry; Sternberg, Marv; Strauch, Harry; Strubhar, Andrew; Struman, Brenda; Theodore, Irene; Tighe, Connie; Videtsky, Wita; Weinstein, Joe; Weppler, E'Anne; White, Rick and Kay; Yenkle, Jim.

University of California

The University of California has aptly been termed by a writer on the subject of university education as the General Motors in its field. It is the nation's largest university, and like other California institu-

tions has felt the impact of our amazingly expanding population in more ways than one. Its seven campuses, scattered throughout the State, are bursting at the seams with students. There is always a need for competent instructors, and there is always the problem of housing, student activities, of political cliques and dissident groups, of racial tensions, and all of the other manifold problems that flow from an unprecedented and never-ending influx of students. The same situation existed at the Los Angeles campus of the state university and the testimony before this Committee by Dr. Raymond B. Allen, then Chancellor of the institution, together with the testimony of the Dean of Students, Dr. Milton Hahn, is peculiarly pertinent. When questioned about the general attitude of the university administration toward Communism and the steps that had been taken to implement that attitude at the Los Angeles campus Dr. Allen testified as follows:

"Q. The University, through its Board of Regents, has adopted a policy toward Communism in general and Communist infiltration of the campuses?

A. That is correct, Mr. Combs. I would like to put this policy into the record. It was adopted by the Regents of the University as early as 1940, which, I might say, is an action taken by this highly responsible body, the first of its kind among the great universities of this country.

Q. And has been in effect ever since?

A. Ever since, yes.

Q. Since the date of its adoption?

A. That is correct.

Q. And still is?

A. That is correct.

Q. You may read it into the record.

A. It states:

'The Regents believe that the Communist Party gives its first loyalty to a foreign government; that, by taking advantage of the idealism and the inexperience of youth, and by exploiting the distress of underprivileged groups, it breeds suspicion and discord and thus divides the democratic forces upon which the welfare of our country depends. They believe, therefore, that membership in the Communist Party is not compatible with membership in the faculty of a state university. Tolerance must not mean indifference to practices which contradict the spirit and purposes of the way of life to which the University of California, as an instrument of democracy, is committed.'

The above appears in the minutes of the Regent's meeting of October 11, 1940. I might add that this policy was reaffirmed by the Regents in 1949, and has been concurred in by the Academic Senate. The Regent's resolution of June 24, 1949, directed that no member of the Communist Party shall be employed by the University. The Academic Senate, northern section, adopted the following resolution in 1950. Let me say at this point, the State of

California, by constitutional provision and by provision of law, requires that all persons receiving salaries from the State, before entering upon the duties of their employment, shall subscribe by affirmation or oath nonmembership in any organization advocating the overthrow of the Government by unlawful means.

This is the resolution adopted in 1950:

'That no person whose commitments or obligations to any organization, Communist or other, prejudice impartial scholarship and free pursuit of truth will be employed by the University. Proved members of the Communist Party, by reason of such commitments to that Party, are not acceptable as members of the faculty.'

The faculty, 100 percent of them, the Regents, and I believe the student body, 99 percent perhaps, fully subscribed to the doctrines and the philosophy which the Regents have so wisely laid down. This is one of the great universities of the world and I am proud to be a member of it. I consider our job one of creating such a healthy environment for American youth in all of its phases, a good, broad, educational program which includes the teaching about Communism so that they will know what the nature of the evil is, thus, to create such a healthy environment, and an environment of awareness, that the students, the youth especially, will benefit because the older people know or should know about it, but the youth especially, should realize the danger that exists in this international conspiracy. One such means is what this Committee is doing and in which the public appears to be interested. There will be some publicity about it. You are describing the methods by which penetration and infiltration are carried out so that the public will know how to recognize it when it is going on. This, I think, is good education.

Q. It would be virtually impossible to combat such a movement—such a disciplined conspiracy unless we knew the techniques by which it functions. Is that correct?

A. Exactly.

Q. Bearing in mind the difference between objective teaching and advocacy.

A. Exactly.

Q. Such courses are being taught at the university?

A. It comes in under political science, history and a variety of courses, but I think our student body itself, the *Daily* under its management now, the student legislative council and its president in producing this statement, which I did not see myself until it appeared in the press, so I called for a copy of it and have it in my hand—some reference was made to it in the daily press yesterday and today—in my opinion, it is one of the finest statements about the nature of the conspiracy and the steps necessary to combat it that I have seen."

Statement by U.C.L.A. Student Body

The statement to which Dr. Allen referred and which was a spontaneous and voluntary action of the Associated Students of the University of California at Los Angeles, was presented by Mr. Willard Johnson, student body president. It was prepared by the Student Legislative Council, the official body for the students of the university at a special meeting called on December seventh, 1956, and was distributed to the press, the various university officials, and constituted the official student attitude toward the problem of Communist infiltration. It read as follows:

"This statement of principles is prepared by the Student Legislative Council of the University of California at Los Angeles in order that at this time, while the possibility of subversive activities on university campuses is being studied by our California Government representatives, the public might know our firm stand against Communist aggression and infiltration and in support of full and fair investigation of such activities by the representatives of a free people.

1. We affirm that the peoples of the United States must keep alert and informed in the face of subversion in the free nations.
2. We oppose the following principle of action set forth in 1920 by Lenin, in the *Infantile Leftism in Communism*—a principle which has governed Communist thinking in all nations including the United States to the present day—namely, that any ruse, any cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth is justified to bring about total Communist world control.
3. We assert, in answer to this Leninist principle, the necessity for absolute moral standards and the absence of moral compromise in the conduct of personal life and in relationships between nations in order that subversion, confusion and diversion shall not lead the world into utter chaos or totalitarian enslavement.
4. We realize that we, as students, have often failed to live by the highest and best that we know to be right in human conduct. But we also know that the setting right of wrong and not accepting our failures as the standard of future conduct, is the way to become and remain free citizens of a free nation. We accept for ourselves and our university life the precept of Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, that the greatest need of the hour is that we become 'a nation strong, clean and united.'
5. *We believe in fair and open investigation of subversion on this campus or any other campus by the representatives of the people, state or federal, in order to bring subversion into the light of day where subversion cannot continue to exist.* (Committee's italics) There is every reason to carry on such investigations, openly and fairly, if such investigations are believed to be needful by our elected representatives. The people of this State have created this institution of higher

learning, and through their representatives they have every right and duty to keep it free.

6. We know that American universities serve as the training ground for our Nation's future leaders and are therefore prime targets of the Communist conspiracy. Because U. C. L. A. is one of our Nation's leading universities, it is obvious to us that attempts will be made to exploit and misdirect us and to create confusion and doubt about our fellow Americans, our government and our way of life.

Our American system of government provides for investigation as a tried and sound method for discovery of truth and the elimination of error and evil. This procedure provides for and serves as a protection for the people. The Communist ideology is directly opposed to our American concept of liberty, morality, justice, and human rights. We, therefore, welcome this investigation.

Q. How did that emanate?

A. This was wholly voluntary on their part.

Q. On the part of the students?

A. On the part of the students. They heard that such an investigation as the Committee is conducting was to take place. They heard that it concerned activities in the student body. They conferred amongst themselves. I just asked Dean Hahn if the students produced this themselves and he said absolutely yes. To me, this is a wonderful recognition of the fact that the University of California at Los Angeles and its fine student body are alert to the dangers and are fighting them. Of course, all of us know in a student body of 16,000 students where the only entrance requirement that must be met is a scholastic requirement, it may well include a few—a half dozen or a dozen or maybe two dozen, I don't know—people who are conspirators of the left or of the right, the extreme left or extreme right. These people get involved, or involve organizations which are quite innocent, I believe, in knowing what is going on, manage to gain enough influence and control so that the honest and real purpose of the organization can be subverted to these conspiratorial ends. This is what I have fought all of my adult life and I shall continue to fight it. The best way to fight it in the university is to have freedom, to have alertness and awareness of these dangers and then these youngsters will grow up mature. They have to know what evil is in order to combat it. They should know what ideas and ideals make up the body of our doctrines of true America. Altogether, I am satisfied that the steps that are being taken here and throughout the country, and particularly with the exposure of the ugly face of Communism, the Russians, international bandits, their actions in Hungary, that there can be no one who can read or think who does not know at this time the nature of the beast we are fighting.

Q. Has it been your experience, Dr. Allen, both at the University of Washington and here, that small, conspiratorial, covert groups of students at a great university, although almost microscopic by

comparison with the body under which they operate, are individuals so highly disciplined and so thoroughly indoctrinated that the noise they generate and the activities in which they engage seem out of all proportion to their actual numerical strength?

A. Exactly. And thereby, they produce a public feeling that everybody in such an institution, or most people, are people who are not loyal to the American system and the American way. That is the unfortunate part about it. U. C. L. A. I have heard referred to as 'The Little Red Schoolhouse.' This is nonsense; there isn't a more loyal or able group of faculty people as well as students with great creative ability—and I have worked in a number of campuses in this country—but they have inspired me and to me this is the greatest.

Q. About three or three and a half years ago, the president of the university, Dr. Sproul, designated each chancellor and each provost on each of the eight campuses of the University of California for the purpose of maintaining a liaison with this Committee. Is that right?

A. Yes, indeed.

Q. That liaison has been maintained so far as your office is concerned, has it not?

A. That is correct. I think that liaison occurred before I arrived. It was May, 1952.

Q. Yes.

A. It preceded me; I picked it up since. I want to underline this: not in any sense to mean that this Committee which is established by the Legislature has intruded one iota into the affairs under my jurisdiction; in terms of management, responsibility and internal organization, we function on our own.

Q. May I add that the Committee will continue to follow that policy.

A. I know that is the case. You wouldn't want it any differently and I wouldn't want it any differently. In view of the fact that the Committee, the State Legislature, the Regents, and myself, and as far as U. C. L. A. is concerned, we are working toward exactly the same end, that there should always be a free America, that conspirators will be uncovered. It only makes good sense that I, as top administrator acting under President Sproul's approval and under the direction of the Regents, shall exchange any information which is of interest and help in achieving the objectives that every honorable American is seeking."

Academic freedom quickly disappears when a school begins to indoctrinate instead of seeking to foster the cultivation of the mind, to promote the search for truth, to arouse a desire for knowledge; to present impartially all sides of controversial issues. Academic freedom is not nurtured by subtle efforts to conform mass thinking of students along *any* political lines.

We have noted that excellent courses on Marxism, on Soviet Government, on Communism, on Revolutionary History, are being taught

at the various campuses of the University of California and at other universities throughout the State and that these courses are generally popular and well attended. As Chancellor Allen pointed out, this Committee is constantly conferring with educational administrators on all levels. That is part of our job. We are usually well received and extended every cooperation. We scrupulously avoid any semblance of interference with the conduct of any school, but we independently conduct our own investigations concerning subversion in these institutions and we endeavor to analyze its causes and its effects and report our findings to the Legislature and to the people pursuant to the mandate under which we function. When we are asked for information concerning any problem in the subversive field we provide such documented data as can be released in consonance with the necessity of protecting our sources.

As we have stated before, we hold very few public hearings simply because we are able to secure accurate information more readily by the use of other techniques. In our view—and we cannot emphasize this too much—if there are enough cooperative witnesses available their information can be obtained more easily without hearings. It can be checked and corroborated and put in affidavit form and thus become a permanent part of the record. And, for the edification of our most hostile critics, we are not solely referring to what they term “stool pigeons.” Every ex-Party member is a “stool pigeon” the instant he discloses information about his former associates, according to those who remain members; the status is purely automatic, a venomous procedure calculated to create wide-spread loathing for anyone who cooperates with the government against those dedicated to its destruction by stealth and subversion. It is a technique that is designed to undermine confidence in these witnesses, and to generate a feeling of distrust toward any agency that does business with them. This sort of thinking, on mature reflection, is ridiculous. But we must all realize that the Communists will never cease trying to infiltrate our schools, our churches, our trade unions, our governmental positions on the federal, state, and local levels, our mass media for communication, our publishing offices, and our various entertainment organizations. From these strategic positions into which they manage to insinuate themselves, they endeavor to mould our thinking, to undermine our morale, to weaken our will to resist, to make us complacent and soft and vulnerable, to corrupt our morals and to soften us up for the kill in every possible manner.

At the same time, the Communists and their supporters work ceaselessly to poison the public mind against law enforcement agencies and the dignity of our government. They will never be content to put an end to what they term “McCarthyism,” but by applying that term to *all* agencies investigating subversive activities, they seek to eliminate them—one by one. We have already seen how the father of young Carey McWilliams used his magazine, an entire issue of it, in an attack against the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Now, obviously, no agency of the government is immune to attack or abuse criticism. The point is that Mr. McWilliams, Senior, has been identified as a Communist Party member; he has a massive record of affiliation with countless Communist front organizations; he has written reams of material supporting

the Communist Party line and apologizing for the Party itself. The financial angel for his publication, *The Nation*, is married to the secretary of the national front organization created for the very purpose of eliminating the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and undermining confidence in the F. B. I. As we have stated, this presents a very different picture than would exist if a person who had not engaged in this sort of thing criticized the F. B. I. for some sincere reason, and not simply because he wanted to destroy public confidence in its operation.

The same thing is true of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. We have looked through the propaganda material issued in the Communist front attacks against the Committee during the past several years, and we have yet to find a single bit of documentation pointing out how the Committee trampled on civil liberties, how it deprived anyone of his rights as an American citizen, and how, in fact, it did any more than harass the Communists by exposing their activities and their membership and by performing the very duties that the Committee was charged with undertaking by the Congress of the United States. We must realize, and we must never forget, that the Communist apparatus in the United States will never stop working until it has eliminated *all* investigative agencies that seek to unmask its subversive actions. It will never stop until it has succeeded in placing its supporters in such strategic places that the Party will have a free hand in hastening our destruction. In our last report we pointed out in detail how it managed to elect its fellow-traveling associates to the State Legislature and to other positions of enormous importance in our state government. This situation was remedied, but it was only remedied because a Committee was created and ordered to investigate the situation and provide the Legislature with its findings. Let us now return to the situation that existed at U. C. L. A. and carefully note the parallel that exists between the conditions on that campus and the conditions presently existing at the state university at Berkeley.

Testimony of Dean Hahn

Dean Milton E. Hahn became Dean of Students at U. C. L. A. in February 1948. The student newspaper at that institution is called the *Daily Bruin*. Dean Hahn stated that beginning with the years 1949 and 1950, 1,969 column inches of space in that publication were written by people "who claim to be Communist or who followed the Communist line very completely." He described the self-perpetuating clique that managed to get control of the student newspaper and to hang on year after year, using the publication for propaganda purposes instead of for the benefit of the student body as a whole. Said Dr. Hahn:

"Going back into *Bruin* history, until 1950 the *Bruin* was controlled by a self-perpetuating group, theoretically responsible to student government, but actually, able most of the time to completely force student government to do as it wished. It is a publication of the Regents. Any publication bearing the name University of California is published by the Regents. The publisher and owner by privity is the student council on each of the campuses at the University of California which has a paper. The key people on the *Bruin* are paid university journalists. They do not buy yachts, but they

are paid enough for car fare, and so on. Four semesters ago, because of things that were happening, it was deemed necessary to change the system.

Q. What do you mean by things that were happening?

A. Oh, complaints of alumni, complaints of former members on the *Bruin* staff who had been squeezed out, complaints by the faculty, the administration, and students.

Q. What complaints were made? What were they mostly concerned with?

A. They varied all over the lot. Many students came in over the years complaining that they wanted to work on the student paper, but apparently their view points were wrong and they were squeezed out. In the years I mentioned, with the tremendous output, 1949 and 1950, they had developed some interesting methods of election. The *Bruin* staff, reportedly, by majority vote, recommended their successors; but in that year, a practice was introduced of taking written ballots for the editor and the managing editors, removing them from the room and announcing the results, but nobody ever saw the ballots. If the staff was split, as it frequently was, they would wait until someone walked out and broke the quorum; or at midnight, they would hold their meetings and the members would object to going out that late. They even threatened to strike if the student council wouldn't let them do as they wished. This happened several times. It was a closely controlled organization, spending from 60 to 100 thousand dollars a year of someone else's money. As I said, that system was changed four semesters ago, so that any person having the qualifications to be editor could run for that position. The one who received a majority of the votes became editor and had a very strong voice in selecting his own staff. Since that time the personnel and journalistic aspect has changed markedly. In other words, by introducing more democracy, we obtained a different result."

U.C. and U.C.L.A. Contrasted

Now why did the students at U.C.L.A. voluntarily meet and pledge cooperation with the State's investigation of Communism at their university; and what prompted them to voluntarily draft and present their statement professing their support of the California Senate's Committee on Un-American Activities, while the students at Berkeley four years later, went to San Francisco and participated in the riotous actions we have described? The State Committee was specifically investigating Communist activities on the U. C. L. A. campus; the House Committee was investigating Communism in general. Why were the U. C. L. A. students supporting the State Committee and the Berkeley students rioting against the House Committee in San Francisco?

We have made an intensive survey of the situation at Berkeley, and believe that the answers to these questions lie in the fact that at U. C. L. A. as Chancellor Allen and Dean Hahn explained, control of the student paper was obtained by a small group of radicals who perpetuated

themselves in office and used the publication for the most blatant sort of radical propaganda. While this situation continued, the infiltration at U. C. L. A. reached an all-time high. Every radical student organization was praised; every conservative movement was derided. During the forties faculty members at U. C. L. A. participated with Communist-operated fronts and spread the Party line at every opportunity. Powerful Communist student organizations openly existed at the university, and a radical atmosphere spread rapidly through the institution. Finally, as was inevitable, the situation became so intolerable and the protests against it so insistent that the U. C. L. A. administration acted, courageously and decisively.

The few faculty members who protested were reminded in emphatic terms that this was a place of learning, not a coddling place for arrogant young Communists. Student pressure groups that complained about freedom of the press being throttled were told in blunt terms that the *Bruin* was a paper for U. C. L. A. students, not a metropolitan daily, and that it represented *all* students, not a handful of propagandists who were constantly fomenting trouble. And they were reminded of the difference between freedom and license. In short, the U. C. L. A. administration finally had more than enough of this nonsense, and got tough.

At Berkeley, the student paper has for the past several years been used as a vehicle for propaganda in precisely the same manner as was the *Bruin* at U. C. L. A. Under this constant barrage of Left-wing material, the same sort of radical student organizations were encouraged and the same sort of Party line attitude began to befoul the atmosphere. On one occasion, when President Sproul had done something that displeased one of these radical student groups, they appeared en masse at his office, demanded an interview, and sought to record the same on a tape recorder they brought along for that purpose. Controversy was stirred up at every opportunity, and the academic atmosphere was disrupted continuously by mass meetings, circulation of petitions, street demonstrations, and the distribution of endless streams of mimeographed propaganda. At any educational institution, it is always an exceedingly difficult problem to balance freedom against license. Academic freedom must be maintained at all costs, for that is the basis of all institutions of learning. The right to criticize governmental institutions is one of our most precious heritages, and the right of free assemblage, the right to peacefully picket, the right to editorialize freely in publications—all these are vital parts of the American way of life. But when these privileges and freedoms become prostituted for subversive purposes, and the students at an institution of learning persist in using these privileges for their own ulterior purposes and exert a stranglehold on the student newspaper for the purpose of propagandizing, and when the paper encourages students to engage in demonstrations against committees of the United States Congress—it is obviously time some decisive steps were taken.

The University at Los Angeles had already gone through this sort of experience, as has been seen from the testimony of its Chancellor and its Dean of Students. They managed to remedy the situation without transgressing on any freedoms or rights and the institution has had very little difficulty from subversion on the campus since. As we

shall see, however, there are unmistakable signs that a powerful effort will be made to again infiltrate the student body and to plant powerful Communist organizations on that campus. Both Chancellor Allen and Dean Hahn were amazingly well informed on the practical aspects of the Communist operation. They were familiar with Communist front organizations; they understood infiltration techniques and propaganda; they concerned themselves with these matters to such an extent that they were admirably equipped to take decisive action when the time came. And take it they did, with excellent results.

With the retirement of President Sproul from his position as head of the University of California and the advent of his successor in the person of Clark Kerr, who formerly had been Chancellor on the Berkeley campus, there was a considerable shuffling of personnel. This is still in progress, and when we issued our 1959 report in June of that year, the Kerr administration had not yet demonstrated its attitude toward problems in the area we have been discussing.

We have already explained how Professor David Rynin of the Department of Speech presented a resolution to the Northern Division of the Academic Senate of the university to the effect that no faculty member should thenceforth cooperate with agents of the United States who were endeavoring to determine the loyalty of students who had applied for sensitive positions with the government. On page 83 of our report was a subtitle asking "Who Runs the State University?". By the time the report was written the university administration had taken no action on this resolution adopted by the Academic Senate. After the report got to the printer, however, the Committee received a letter from President Kerr on June 11, 1959, enclosing a copy of the Academic Senate record dated May 25, and calling our attention to a statement made by him before the representative assembly which pretty well answers the question we asked in our 1959 report.

Calling attention to the history of the resolution, Dr. Kerr stated to the representative assembly of the Northern Section of the Academic Senate of the university that the faculty had no legal right to make a resolution binding the faculty to refuse cooperation with agents of the government of the United States in matters of security. He cited a ruling to that effect by the general counsel for the Regents of the university and he specifically pointed out that in the report made by the Committee on Academic Freedom it was suggested that the counsel made a far broader ruling to the effect that the assembly had no power to enact rules which encouraged free discussion in the classroom or to give compulsive support to freedom of discussion in the classroom or to enact rules regarding free speech in courses of instruction. Said Dr. Kerr: "... It is important to observe that the opinions both of the Committee on Rules and Jurisdictions and of the general counsel did nothing of the sort. Instead they were carefully limited to ruling that the assembly had no power to enact this particular binding rule and did not intimate any opinion on any other types of rules which relate to free discussion in the classroom."

President Kerr went on to amplify his position as follows:

"If this resolution were mandatory, still other basic problems would be raised. How should the administration go about enforcing a resolution such as that involved here? How can it be discovered

what the faculty member said to the investigator in the privacy of his office or his home? Should an annual oath or affidavit be required? Should we employ our own counter-investigators? Obviously, any sincere efforts to enforce this regulation would be extraordinarily destructive to the peace of mind and the effectiveness of our university. Such efforts would create insupportable tensions and strains within our academic community.

Thus (1) I do not think the power resides in this assembly to enact such a binding resolution. (2) If it did, and such a mandatory resolution were adopted, it would be a fraud against the students not to enforce it. But (3) effective enforcement, by the nature of the situation is virtually impossible. And (4) efforts at enforcement would be most damaging to the position, structure, and the morale of our university. Consequently (5) I would prefer to rely in this area, on the conscience and the good judgment of the individual faculty member.

May I conclude by saying that we are all devoted to 'freedom of discussion in the classroom,' and also in this assembly. I also want to express my hope that we can deal with this matter in an affirmative fashion. And I trust, whatever happens, that the faculty will not cease to be concerned with the impact of the pressures for conformity in our society (including some of those expressed in the form of loyalty investigations) upon academic and student freedom and with the search for the best methods by which the university can resist those pressures. I conceive it to be one of the primary duties of the university administration to support affirmatively free discussion of all issues within the university and to protect actively students and faculty from unfair or unwarranted restriction resulting from such discussions. I would welcome the opportunity to work with any committee of the Senate in seeking effective means of extending such support and protection."

After a discussion, "Professors D. Rynin and R. C. Williams each spoke briefly." Then Professor Selznick referred to some earlier remarks made by Professor Rynin, and moved that the resolution in question be reaffirmed with certain changes. After a debate the motion was defeated on a roll call vote with results as follows:

"Ayes, 23: Adams, Chew, Coney, Forsham, Fretter, Imbrie, Iversen, Kennedy, Kepner, Letiche, Lund, Mates, Morrey, Nordly, Papandreou, Puknat, Reynolds, Selznick, Stanier, Strong, Toreson, Votaw, Whitford.

Noes, 33: Adler, Biswell, Brooks, Carr, Constance, Cordy, Freeborn, Fuller, Gordon, Greenberg, Grossman, Hopkin, Houston, Jensen, Jones, Kerr, Kibner, Lagen, Laude, Leach, Levens, Loomis, MacKay, Oswald, Pitzer, Reiber, Seaborg, Shideler, Stewart, Struve, Vaux, Vermeulen, Wilke."

The Committee on Academic Freedom of the faculty expressed its dissatisfaction with the ruling by Counsel Thomas J. Cunningham on behalf of the Regents in a report which read, in part, as follows:

"The 'freedom of discussion in the classroom' resolution was adopted by the representative assembly on October 28, 1958, and affirmed on December 11. This committee's unpleasant duty now

is to report that on March 4, 1959, vice-president and general counsel Thomas J. Cunningham in response to an inquiry from President Kerr expressed his opinion that 'the Regents have not delegated to the representative assembly authority to adopt the binding resolution of this character.' At President Kerr's invitation the chairman of this committee on April 21 discussed the matter with Mr. Cunningham and was advised that the ruling would not be withdrawn.

Thus once again the University of California has flunked a crucial test of academic freedom. By interpretation a Regental rule has been applied to destroy a safeguard for students set up by a governing body of the Academic Senate ('a minimal safeguard that protects student participation in the kind of university instruction and counselling we maintain is fundamental.*')."

Thus, by direct and positive action on the part of the Regents, Counsel Cunningham and President Kerr, the situation we reported in 1959 was permanently resolved, and our question as to who ran the university was answered: the Regents and the President run the university, with moneys appropriated by the California State Legislature for the benefit of the citizens of the State. It was not intended to be run by either the students or the faculty. When it comes to making rules for the operation of the institution, this prerogative is held by the Regents of the university, and we are confident that they would never sanction a ruling to the effect that members of the faculty employed by the university could refuse to cooperate with the agents of their own government who were seeking to determine the loyalty of individuals who sought employment in sensitive positions for that same government. Such a situation in a state university would, in our view, be of inestimable value to those who are endeavoring to subvert us.

President Kerr also took prompt action in prohibiting demonstrations outside the front gate of the university similar to the one addressed by Vincent Hallinan when he was a candidate for President of the United States on the Independent Progressive Party ticket. Experience had indicated that these student demonstrations at the university's front gate interfered with orderly access to the campus, pertained almost exclusively to off-campus activities, and provided a gathering place for the dissemination of propaganda of all sorts. Since these meetings were prohibited by the university administration, students have been permitted to assemble at Dwinelle Plaza on the campus, there to distribute such literature as they wished, and to make such utterances as they desire, so long as the proceedings related to campus activities and legitimate interests of the student body.

On October 13, 1960, a SLATE officer addressed a mass meeting of students at Dwinelle Plaza, attacked President Clark Kerr's policies, and declared to the assembled students:

"Kerr's directives reflect his training in industrial relations, and reveal what Kerr would do if confronted by union leadership which didn't represent union members. I'd say democratize the union. Clark Kerr would say castrate [sic] the leadership. Take

* *Academic Senate Record*, University of California Northern Section, Volume V, No. 6, Berkeley, Calif., May 25, 1959.

this philosophy over to the ASUC and dump it and you have the Kerr Directive.*"

The student who uttered these earthy and defiant statements was Mike Tigar, SLATE leader and candidate for ASUC Representative-at-Large.

On the day following Mr. Tigar's Dwinelle Plaza performance, the *Daily Californian* demonstrated its editorial bias by urging his election. The editorial read:

"We are taking this unprecedented stand because we feel the future of student government on this campus is the issue in the present campaign. The present Executive Committee and the administration have made clear their complete disavowal of any student governmental voice in matters other than the distribution of ASUC funds and the management of the activities program. If this is allowed to continue, the students at this campus will be completely divested of any voice in pertinent issues whether on or off campus."

The editorial concluded by declaring:

"We urge students to vote for Michael Tigar for ASUC Representative-at-Large," and was signed by the entire senior editorial board, comprising Dan Silver, editor; Margaret Wilson, managing editor; Janie Semple, assistant editor; Corinne Purnell, city editor; Bill Wong, sports editor; Mary Ellen Rose, assistant managing editor; Gordon Chappell, assistant managing editor; Joan Duren, assistant city editor; Josh Eppinger, assistant sports editor.†"

The influence of the SLATE organization and its adherents was reflected with increasing vigor in the student newspaper, which apparently cast all pretenses of editorial objectivity to the winds when it endorsed the SLATE candidate, and in the issue for October 17, 1960, an editorial appeared criticizing the "ambiguity" of the Kerr directive forbidding student participation in off-campus issues. This ruling had obviously been designed to keep the university from becoming involved in the heated political activities of student groups. It forbade students linking the institution with such a movement in any manner. This immediately provoked protests from the radical organizations, SLATE in particular, to the effect that President Kerr was smothering free speech and student democracy. Kerr was placed in the somewhat unique position of either beating a retreat by watering down his tough directive, or being branded as a reactionary by this handful of noisy, roistering students. Of course, any concession would simply lead to more demands, as is always the case in these matters.

The die was cast when SLATE deliberately violated the directive and challenged the Kerr office to take action, if it dared. This move pivoted around the firing of Professor Koch by another university, as we explained earlier.

* *The Daily Californian*, October 13, 1960.

† *Daily Californian*, October 14, 1960.

Retreat of the Administration

The Kerr directive *was* toned down. It was modified even more in October 1960. In fact it was emasculated, for all practical purposes, by providing that student officers, as individuals, might express themselves concerning off-campus matters without hindrance, but must take "... reasonable precautions to make it clear they are not speaking either for the university or the student body."*

The alumni publication quoted above declared:

"The year-old controversy between student leaders and the university administration, President Kerr's restrictions on student body officers taking stands on 'off-campus' issues appears to have been reconciled. The policy was further clarified in October, when President Kerr issued his third amendment to his Regulation on Student Government know [sic] as the 'Kerr Directives.' The October revision, greeted by most student leaders and university officials as sufficient to end the controversy provides that student government officers, as individuals, may express opinions on 'off-campus' matters without consent of the Chief Campus Officer. However, they must 'take reasonable precaution to make it clear that they are expressing their own views and not purporting to represent those of the university or the members of the student government (or its agencies) as a whole.'"

In the issue of the student paper for October 18th, a public showing of the film of the riots at the House Committee hearings was described under the heading: "Operation Abolition. Jeers Greet Defense Film." Since this article fully corroborates our conclusions about the general student attitude toward legislative investigations of Communist activity, and the extent to which the thinking of our young people has been influenced by a continuous barrage of Communist propaganda, we quote from this article at length.

"Amidst laughter and boos, 'Operation Abolition,' a film taken from footage shot of the City Hall demonstration last spring, was shown to a packed Newman Hall Friday night.

Each appearance of the congressmen-moderators in the film defending the House Un-American Activities Committee was met by laughter and then jeers when views contrary to those of the audience were expressed.

At the conclusion of the movie, Craig Bull, a former Federal Bureau of Investigation member, gave a talk presenting the 'other view' that was destined to be met with disapproval from the start owing to the disposition of the audience against the film.

Bull asked that the audience be 'open-minded' about the film, and listen to the other side. He said the film was originally six hours long, and had been cut down to 45 minutes. He said that although it was cut down, nothing pertinent was deleted, nor was any propaganda intended.

When asked from the audience if he saw the 'lies, half-truths, and distortions prevalent in the film' because of the manner in which the facts were presented, he replied that 'I see no half-truths.' The audience response was one of loud rejection.

* *California Monthly*, December 1960, page 26.

The film was made from footage subpoenaed from television newsreels and amateur photographers by the committee, Bull said. When pressed by the audience as to who actually printed the film he gave the name of a Washington video company, located in Washington, D. C.

Several times Bull's remarks were met by a snide remark from the audience. Finally he declared after one such heckle that he thought people should be 'gentlemen first and open-minded second' to which a previously dormant part of the group applauded.

Bull was asked from the audience what he thought of the insinuations in the film that the *Daily Californian* was Communist-run or dupes of the Communists. He declared that he didn't think it was run by Communists and that the students on the paper may certainly express their own opinions even though they 'don't necessarily agree with mine.'

In the issue of the student paper for October 19th, the Coro foundation was described as having dismissed one Jane O'Grady from her internship because she participated in the Committee riots in San Francisco and was arrested as a result thereof. The Student Civil Liberties Committee and the newspaper demanded that the University immediately withdraw its recognition of the Coro foundation, thereby expressing disapproval of its action in dismissing Miss O'Grady for participating in an uncontrolled demonstration against the committee of the United States Congress.

On October 20th the newspaper described a large assemblage of students on the campus of the university to hear Steve Allen, TV star, express himself concerning nuclear war. Under the heading "Enthusiastic Audience Hears Allen Condemn Nuclear War," and describing an overflow audience of 2,000 students in the Life Sciences Building on the evening of October 19, the account described Mr. Allen as advocating "an end to the absurd business of calling every peace movement a Communist front," a declaration that evoked much response from a "wildly cheering audience." The *Daily Californian* contained a section called "Letters to the Ice Box," wherein expressions from students concerning current matters were printed. Since the demonstrations against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco in May of 1960, this department was crammed with letters castigating the committee, upholding the students, urging the abolition of the committee, attacking the university administration, exhibiting a marked bias in favor of the student Left-wing minority, and occasionally printing a lone statement upholding the right of Congress to send a Committee to get pertinent information about efforts to subvert the government.

On October 21st there was another editorial attack against President Kerr's controversial directives, and more letters in the "Ice Box" discussing the matter, and the general editorial attitude of the student paper.

Revolt of the Journalists

In the interim between the appearance of the paper on October 21st and the issue for October 24th, the Student Body Executive Committee

held a meeting and expressed itself as fed up with the biased nature of the student publication and the persistence of its staff in perpetuating itself by selecting its editorial successors. The Executive Committee made itself quite clear by declaring:

The Student Body of the University of California has delegated the responsibility of publishing the *Daily Californian* to the Executive Committee as a representative agency of the campus. As publishers, we have acted to insure that the paper will be more responsible to the student body at large. Our action was taken in response to growing student dissatisfaction with attitudes found in news policy.

The action that we are presently taking is the reconstruction of the *Daily Californian* by-laws. A careful examination of the former by-laws has shown that they do not adequately define the position of your campus newspaper. They neither define the publisher-editorial relationship, nor allow for the unique monopoly of the student newspaper. This was the fundamental problem of the old by-laws, since there is no consumer control as there is over metropolitan papers. This control must be assumed by you as publishers. We wish to make it clear that no attempt is being made to restrict or control editorial opinion. Executive Committee is unanimous in its desire to maintain a student newspaper which will stimulate student awareness. We continue to encourage constructive criticism of any and all ASUC agencies, including Executive Committee. We are also determined that the *Daily Californian* shall not become an activities bulletin.

Specifically, then, what are the objections to the present paper? First of all, the former by-laws provided for an accurate, true, fair, and decent presentation of news and editorial expression. Most of the criticism that we have heard is in protest to violations of the above ethics.

It is also recognized that there is only one philosophy toward student government and current events represented on the staff. We feel that this is a result of the staff's election procedure as provided by the old by-laws. The senior editorial board has had the final authority in selecting the top ten editorial positions. We feel that this encourages the continuation of an in-bred philosophy. We do not feel this is right. The fact that the *Daily Californian* staff wanted to continue this in-bred single philosophy was clearly shown last night. Their resignation came at the point when Ex. Com. had approved a change in the by-laws which would allow a member from the campus-at-large to be appointed to one of the top ten position of the editorial staff. This, seems to have been the crucial issue.

Again, we are taking these actions to provide a more responsible student press. We appeal to you, the students, to bear with us in our reorganization process. To this effect there will be a meeting for all students who are interested in working on the *Daily Californian* or on other ASUC publications. It will be in the *Daily Californian* office at noon and at 4 PM today.

"Executive Committee, Fall, 1960."

This issue of the paper contained in large headlines on the front page the two words: "We Resign!" The entire front page was bordered in black and a notice of resignation read as follows:

"We, the Senior Editorial Board and staff of the *Daily Californian*, announce our resignation. We have taken this drastic and far-reaching step not to preserve an 'in-bred single philosophy' or to promote a political aim. We have resigned in an effort to preserve the principle of free, valid, and responsible student journalism on this campus.

We, as journalists responsible to the best interests of the university community could not in good conscience publish a newspaper under the ridiculous and odious provisions approved by Executive Committee last night.

Events have proved that Executive Committee's action was a deliberate attempt to force our resignations. We regret that an essential service to the campus community is in control of a body so irresponsible as to force the resignations of a dedicated and competent staff. We think the irresponsibility of this action is well demonstrated by the resignations in protest of top editors of other ASUC publications.

We hope you, the campus community, get good journalism. We, as an independent paper operating under the same standards and by-laws as before, will attempt to provide it. We hope, but doubt, that a 'scab' paper can do it, too.

The following is the text of our official resignation:

'Student journalism as we see it, is only a valid endeavor if it is carried on in accord with the principles and methods which characterize journalistic activity. These include the journalists' control over the technical and news policy of the paper and complete, unrestricted editorial expression.

'We believe in the definition of journalistic activities in these areas in terms of standards of journalistic ethics and competence. We have had a structure and by-laws which insured these rights within the limits of responsibility to standards serving the interests of the entire university community, to the best of our ability. We have complete faith in our ability and competence and in our willingness to correct our own mistakes.

'The by-laws have been changed in such a manner that we feel they are incompatible with the best interests of the university community and with the concepts of journalism which motivated us, as students, to participate in the effort to produce the *Daily Californian*. Therefore, we, the undersigned, tender out resignations effective 8 AM, Monday, October 24, 1960.

'Signed, Daniel Ben Silver, editor; Margaret Wilson, managing editor; Janie Semple, assistant editor; Corinne M. Purnell, city editor; Mary Ellen Rose, assistant managing editor; Gordon S. Chappell, assistant managing editor; Joan A. Duren, assistant city editor; Bill Wong, sports editor; Joshua

Eppinger III, assistant sports editor; night editors: Joel Brewer, Sissel Hamre, Bob Laurence, Mike Lengyel, and Dexter Waugh; Dan Bloom, head photographer; and sports night editors: Lincoln Mintz, Blaine Newnham, and Charles Tonelli; staff members: Sandra North, Rosalie Berg, Bob LeBlanc, Charles Crayne, Jim Wood, Mike Doan, Bill Ehlert, Pat O'Shaughnessy, Martin Kenner, Michael Alcalay, Michael Several, Deborah Silver, Julie Tisdale, Ann Young, Carol Weibel, Brianne Surrey, Betty Kimur, Scott Keech, Katherine Rotheraham, Leone Terry, Pat Seely, and Mike Dugleby; Barbara Arlon, Arleigh Chute, Janet Dalrymple, Rochelle Davidson, Marlene Depper, Tom Dorsch, Michael Fischer, Peter Hertli, Paul Kagan, Eden Lipson, Louise Schmidt, Donna Milnes, Mike Roger, Stephen Emmons, Jennifer Sachs, Rosalie Berg."

Staff members of other student publications who resigned in sympathy with the predicament of the *Daily Californian* staff were: Don Wegars, editor of the *Pelican*, Pris Spires, advertising manager of the *Pelican*; Jean Holmes, business manager of the *Pelican*; John Grissim, manager of the *Occident*; Sue Shaw, manager of the *Blue and Gold*; Nell Irvin, art editor of the *Pelican*; and Steve Whilden, editor of *California Engineer*.

The alumni publication of the university commented on the situation as follows:

"The smouldering conflict between the *Daily Californian* editorial staff and the ASUC Executive Committee erupted October 24, when the newspaper's student editors resigned, en masse, embittered by an angry Executive Committee's efforts to revise the paper's by-laws, including the method of selecting the paper's senior editorial board. The crisis developed over a series of *Daily Cal* articles and editorials criticizing the university administration and the Executive Committee, and endorsing a candidate in the October campus elections. A resignation was also submitted by the editor of *Occident*.

Under the existing ASUC organization, the *Daily Californian* is responsible to the Executive Committee, the campus student governing body, for its editorial policy.

The Executive Committee action, which precipitated the resignation, stemmed from the Committee's feeling that the paper should be 'more responsible to the student body at large' and to the committee, as publisher, than the committee felt it had been. The editors countered that the Executive Committee's dual role, as both governing body and as publisher of the only campus newspaper, is, in effect, an unhealthy governmental control of the press, and is contrary to the best interests of the students.

A *Daily Californian* consultative board—composed of journalists, faculty members, and students—had been mutually agreed upon by both parties as a solution to the existing anomaly, offering a means of insuring editorial responsibility without direct control from Executive Committee. Unfortunately, when the need arose, the board was lacking two student members. It would have been complete and operating within a week. But that was not enough.

The resigned *Daily Californian* editors founded a new, off-campus newspaper, the *Independent Californian*, supported by contributions from readers. The first issue of 5,000 copies sold out for a 10 cent a copy contribution. It ceased daily publication on November 9.

The *Daily Californian*, with a new staff continues to be published by the ASUC. Students are now studying alternative solutions to the problem." *

On October 25th, SLATE sponsored a rally at Dwinelle Plaza at which Mike Tigar, Professor Thomas Parkinson of the English Department, Professor Richard Drinnon of the History Department, and several graduate students expressed themselves in support of the old staff of the student paper and complained that freedom of speech had been violated. One hundred and fifty students volunteered to continue publication of the paper and it continued to appear on schedule, while, as we have explained, an off-campus publication called the *Independent Californian* was issued for a short time and then expired for want of student support. The furor generated over the resignation of the *Daily Californian* staff was further complicated by the fact that Dean William Shepard had issued an opinion to the effect that the Executive Committee by-laws, proposed for the purpose of exerting some control over the newspaper, were in conflict with one of the regulations governing the conduct of the ASUC. He then reversed himself and issued the following statement: "... A further study of these two documents and consultation with other administrative officers lead to the conclusion that such a conflict does not exist. The intent of paragraph five is to assure student editors that they may take positions on issues of the day within the framework established by student governments." †

As was to be expected, the controversy concerning this unprecedented resignation of the editorial staff provoked controversial comment in the columns of the paper that were still reverberating at the time this portion of the report was being written in mid-January, 1961. It was undoubtedly natural to anticipate that much of the comment would be in favor of the Executive Committee action and against the editorial policy that had existed before the mass resignation occurred. Thus, in the issue of the paper for October 25th, we find an expression of confidence supporting the Executive Committee action from the responsible class officers of the university as follows:

"We, the members of the Class Officers Board, do collectively and individually recognize and approve the actions of the Executive Committee regarding the *Daily Californian*.

It is our opinion that the *Daily Californian* has operated in conflict with the best interests of the student body.

We therefore believe that the proposed revision of the *Daily Californian* By-laws is both beneficial and necessary to its proper operation."

This statement was signed by Gary Aguirre, Senior Class President; Lanz Wickman, Junior Class President; Larry Miller, Sophomore Class

* *Daily Californian*, December, 1960, page 26, op. cit.

† *The Daily Californian*, October 25, 1960.

President; Heather McCune, Senior Class Vice-President; Georgianna Miner, Senior Class Secretary-Treasurer; Dottie Ahlburg, Junior Class Secretary-Treasurer; Bob Brachman, Junior Class Yell Leader; Deanna Lynn, Sophomore Class Vice-President; Carolyn MacIntosh, Sophomore Class Secretary-Treasurer; Steve Ricketts, Sophomore Class Yell Leader.

The same issue of the paper contains a statement from the managerial staff, stating that it had not resigned with the senior editorial staff, and had no intention of doing so, but intended to continue and uphold the paper's interests and obligations to the students of the university.

The situation created widespread attention. At the University of San Francisco, the editor of its student publication, Richard Harcourt, announced that its publication would merge with the *Independent Californian*, thereby expressing sympathy for the former editorial board, and offering a place for the publication of its off-campus paper. The University of San Francisco administration took a somewhat dim view of the enterprise, however, and Harcourt resigned his post as editor of the *Fog Horn* in protest. In the meantime, editor Daniel O'Donnell, editor of the University of Nevada's publication, *Sagebrush*, announced that he would fly to Berkeley from Reno for the purpose of lending whatever help he could. The largest daily metropolitan paper in the East Bay area, the *Oakland Tribune*, editorialized the time had come for a reappraisal of the student journalism set-up on the campus of the state university, that the issues were bogged down in a welter of charges and counter-charges, and that every newspaper that was effective had to have some sort of responsibility to a central authority which is represented by its publisher. The editorial pointed out that the *Daily Californian* had traditionally been run by editors who were elected to their posts each year by their predecessors on the staff of the paper, and that whereas the Executive Committee of the associated students of the university was the paper's publisher, it had little or nothing to say about the policy of the publication. The *Tribune* editorial quoted former editor Dan Silver as declaring that student journalism included the journalist's control over the technical and news policy of the paper and complete unrestricted editorial expression, then continued to state that this would perhaps be true if the editors were publishing an independent organ and selling the product on the competitive market. "But the *Daily Cal* is the organ of the 22,000-member student body and the duly elected representatives of the student body are the Executive Committee. So it is difficult to agree with Silver that a small group of appointed editors have no responsibility other than the dictates of good taste." *

In the meantime all student groups on the campus with the exceptions of the Women's Dormitory Association and the student YWCA, approved the action by the Executive Committee.

On October 27, Mike Tigar, now chairman of the SLATE organization, addressed a meeting of students in Dwinelle Plaza, criticising "acts of provocation" by the government of the United States, stating that they must cease and would lead to war, while David Horowitz, chairman of SLATE Peace Committee, was reported as praising the attitude of the USSR toward disarmament and alleging that the mora-

* *Daily Californian*, October 26, 1960.

torium on nuclear arms testing was being held up by the attitude of the United States. Other speakers declared that the Board of Regents must act to end compulsory military training on the university campus, and SLATE speakers solicited students to leave the university and assemble at the corner of Bancroft and Dana Streets in Berkeley where they would be picked up at 11 AM on the following day and taken to the San Francisco Opera House to participate in a "Walk for Peace" to Union Square at 2:00 PM. This demonstration was held under the sponsorship of the Society of Friends.*

Occasional anti-Communist items began to appear in the *Daily Californian*, and in the issue for November 9, 1960, an editorial from the Stanford University *Daily* was reproduced, declaring that the average American didn't have the slightest understanding of the fundamental doctrines of Marxism, Leninism, and that the country was totally incompetent to wage an ideological battle against the world Communist movement. The Stanford publication further asserted that Americans would have to first understand Communist ideology if democratic ideology was to survive, and that whereas heretofore we have been able to crush foreign enemy movements by force, a nuclear war would destroy the entire world and that the world Communist threat to our existence must be defeated by positive action, and not threats and fear. The editorial concluded:

"Some of Lenin's most ominous words are known to every Communist: 'As long as capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace. In the end one or the other will triumph—a funeral requiem will be sung, either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism.'

This is what America is up against, only America does not know it. We think that America should know it, especially students, since the job of defeating Communism is bequeathed to them.

Therefore, we make a proposal. Stanford University should be the first institution in this nation to have a course in Marxism-Leninism which shall be compulsory. Governor Averill Harriman advocated such a course in a speech here January 14.

The course should be taught by an expert who is completely objective, and should be given to juniors or seniors, since freshmen and sophomores are probably not yet mature enough to understand all that they should.

We would suggest that the course be formed along the lines of History of Western Civilization and that reading matter include most of the more important works of Marx, including the first volume *Das Kapital*, and a sizable portion of the extensive works of Lenin.

Active debate should be encouraged and individual research projects should be an important segment of the course.

This course must be compulsory for a very simple reason. The battle against Communism is not the problem of a few individuals in this country. It is the battle of every single American. It is every single American's duty to understand what menaces his freedom and the freedom of under-developed and neutral nations."

* *Daily Californian*, October 28, 1960.

Understanding the Enemy

In our 1959 report, page 52, was a section entitled "The Objective Teaching of Communism." We pointed out that it was gratifying to note there had been a growing awareness among university students during the last four years of the true nature of the Communist menace, and a far greater resistance to attempts at indoctrination. Many of the leading colleges and universities in this state have included optional courses on the Communist ideology, but we do not know of any institution that has a course on this subject that is compulsory, or what is even more important, even an elective course dealing with the *practical* aspects of Communist techniques as they are currently employed. In order to understand a front organization, and in order to recognize Communist propaganda, it is not enough to understand the basic philosophies of Marx and Lenin. These theoretical aspects of the Communist ideology are of profound importance and are prerequisites to an understanding of the entire subject. But there is another phase of the Communist movement which is concealed from public view, and which has led to a shameful illiteracy among some of our leading intellectuals concerning the hard practical aspects of every day Communist activity. How can a university administrator hope to combat infiltration by the Communists on his campus, and the deadly effect of Communist propaganda unless he takes the trouble to accurately inform himself concerning the machinery employed by the Communist Party to attain its objectives? The average American citizen when asked whether he is for or against Communism would respond immediately with a somewhat angry declaration of his opposition to the movement, but when asked to *define* it he would find himself with an utterly inadequate conception of the enemy he has been compelled to face. Every expert who analyzed the horrifying capitulation on the part of American G. I.'s who fought in Korea to the brainwashing techniques of the Chinese Communists agree that these young men had not been adequately informed concerning the nature of the enemy they were fighting, nor, in many cases, the real nature of the cause they were defending.

It is a shameful commentary on the moral fiber of our country that most of us go selfishly about our accustomed pursuits with little concern for the peril to our country and our way of life, making little or no attempt to inform ourselves of the nature of the menace, and in many cases blindly succumbing to the effects of insidious Communist propaganda for the liquidation of all efforts to investigate Communism and to create a mounting disrespect for constituted authority, the Congress of our country, our State Legislature, the Regents of our university, our university administrators, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and law enforcement agencies in general.

We have frequently stated, and we wish to emphasize again, that we do not have the slightest doubt about the complete loyalty of most of the editorial staff of the *Daily Californian*, of the members of SLATE, of the students who participated in the demonstrations in San Francisco when the House Committee held its hearings, and of intense student orators who criticize the rulings of the university president. But we know from an intensive survey that Communist propaganda has been

alarmingly effective among our students during the past two years—not only in California but throughout the entire country. No one with the slightest political sense would believe for an instant that the student riots in all parts of the world that occurred within a short space of time were completely spontaneous. Those who have the least understanding of international Communist organization and of Communist movements in other countries would understand that this was a carefully coordinated movement, timed with exquisite precision, carefully directed, carefully controlled, and manipulated by a cadre of Communist functionaries who are exceedingly proficient at this sort of business.

On pages 95 and 96 of our 1959 report, we described how Constantin Oumansky, the second Soviet Ambassador to the United States and a product of Red Army Intelligence training, went to Mexico and with the assistance of Mexican Communist leaders paved the way for the propagandizing and infiltration of student organizations and trade unions throughout all of Latin America. This is an excellent example of the long range strategy employed by international Communist leaders to prepare a country for revolution by softening up its supporters at opposite ends of the social spectrum: the intellectuals on the one hand and the working men on the other. The propaganda barrage that accompanies these efforts is simply astounding, the massive proportions of such a propaganda campaign in one Latin American country completely eclipsing the efforts of the United States propaganda agencies for the entire world. In our own country there has been a continuous propaganda campaign exerted by the Communist Party of the United States ever since its active existence began in September, 1919. It has waxed and waned from time to time depending on the fortunes or misfortunes of the American Communist organization, but it has never ceased. We have heretofore explained that there has been an average turnover in Party membership amounting to about 25% per annum, and that most of the people who leave the American Communist Party are not at all disillusioned with Marxism, but are impatient with the failure of the Communist organization to make more rapid headway and utilize more militant efforts. This becomes immediately apparent when hostile witnesses are summoned to the witness stand, and testify that they have left the Communist organization. In most instances this information can be readily corroborated, and yet none of these witnesses will give the slightest information concerning the organization during the time of their membership, and will immediately invoke the Fifth Amendment when interrogated to any extent about their affiliation or activities while Party members.

It is quite obvious that the compulsory teaching of courses in Communism in our universities and colleges would have to be supervised with the greatest of care to insure that the students are getting objective teaching instead of advocacy one way or the other. This is in the true spirit of academic freedom, and if such courses could be objectively taught, we would be emphatic in urging that they be commenced without delay. In previous reports we have pointed out that almost any course can be twisted into an espousal of the Party line. Thus, in a class teaching manual training, if a Communist instructor wishes to spread the Party line, he commences by explaining to his students the differences between various kinds of wood. Pine wood comes from the

United States, as does redwood, cedar, fir, maple, and other woods commonly used in the building of great edifices for capitalist industry and the residences for the men who control them. Mahogany, teak, cork, and iron wood come from underprivileged countries where there are great masses of illiterate and impoverished toilers who are compelled to work incredibly long hours at incredibly small wages—a way of life that is in great need of changing; and that most of this wood is exported to capitalist countries through a financial arrangement that further enriches the importers and does little to improve the life of the people who actually produce the raw material.

Courses in speech are frequently twisted to depart from their original purpose of providing the students with a means of precise and effective expression, and in the hands of a Marxist professor are easily oriented to place an emphasis on *freedom* of speech, with some passing attention to other civil liberties, and an impression on the part of the instructor that we have very little freedom of speech or other civil liberties in this country as it is presently operated.

The Professors Mount the Balustrades

At noon on December 7th 1960 Dwinelle Plaza was the scene of another campus demonstration against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Approximately 300 students gathered and heard representatives of the California-Intercampus Coordinating Committee, comprising representatives of West Coast campuses working with similar groups in other parts of the country to petition Congress against reconstitution of the Committee. Present and active were George Link, president of the Associated Students at the University of California, Burton White, English teaching assistant and chairman of the local organization for the abolition of the Committee, Robert Siclar, Riek Chesney, chairman of the Student Civil Liberties Union, Carey McWilliams, Jr., formerly active in the SLATE organization and later a teaching assistant in Political Science at Berkeley, and Mike Tigar, chairman of SLATE.

This demonstration of university faculty members haranguing students on the campus and expressing their opinions in an effort to influence student body conduct on off-campus matters presents, in our view, a puzzling phenomenon. The university administration, working under the directives of President Kerr, forbids any student of the university to express an opinion concerning off-campus issues with the slightest implication that he is representing the student body or any part thereof. This directive, highly controversial and three-amended, is one of the most bitterly contested matters at the university. Both the administration and the Academic Senate—especially its committee on Civil Rights—rise in quick and emphatic protest at the slightest indication of violation of academic freedom on the campus and in the classroom. This position is taken quite properly, and yet it hardly seems to be consistent with the practice of tolerating members of the faculty to leave the classroom, climb up on the nearest pinnae and harangue students to their hearts content concerning the most highly controversial off-campus matters. It is quite obvious to us, and we believe it is equally obvious to the parents of the students who attend the state university, that if it is a violation of the fundamental ground

rules of academic freedom for a faculty member to urge students to adopt his personal opinions in the class room, it is equally a violation of academic freedom for him to use any other part of the campus for the purpose of accomplishing the same result. It should be plain to everyone that faculty members at a university enjoy a position and prestige among the students that should never be employed to sway the beliefs or actions of the students to conform to the political beliefs and actions of the teacher. Here is a flagrant violation of academic freedom; here is a flagrant example of instructors being permitted to warp students into conformity with their own ideas, but because the criticism is leveled against a Committee of the United States Congress that is mandated to investigate subversive activities, it is permitted to continue. The opinions of the faculty members concerning the existence, activity, or abolition of this particular committee are their own business. But it is the business of the Legislature, the parents, and certainly the Regents of the university, to put an end to this ridiculous practice. If a group of faculty members at the state institution desire to influence the students or anyone else on off-campus issues, let them hire their own hall off the property of the State of California and harangue to their heart's content, but the State can hardly be expected to provide its facilities for such extra-curricular activities.*

By mid-September, 1960, an advisory board had been announced by the Student Executive Committee to actually form the liaison between the student newspaper and the student body. The office of the chancellor selected Alvin Hyman, who graduated from the university in 1921 and who was employed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as an editorial writer, to be the professional journalist on the advisory board. This board was comprised of a representative of the graduate students appointed by the Dean of the Graduate Division, three under-graduate representatives at large appointed by the president of the student body, and the managing editor of the newspaper, a representative of the foreign students, representatives from the housing facility, the university public information office, and the faculty. Thus after a long period of bitter and intense controversy the problem of the student newspaper appears to have been settled. The self-perpetuation of the editorial staff has been discontinued, and the editorial policy of the paper is asserted to be one that will represent the entire student body rather than a small fragment thereof. It has been pointed out repeatedly by the Executive Committee and those who support its position that a student paper that students are forced to take is in a vastly different position than a privately published journal, and that the editorial policies in these two situations must be carefully distinguished.

SLATE, in the meantime, has solidified its position and has become the headquarters of an inter-campus organization, loosely-knit but held together by live contacts at some 40 colleges and universities with an intercampus newsletter.†

In the alumni magazine, *California Monthly*, for January, 1961, on page 3 appears an interesting article by Dick Erickson of the class of 1949. Mr. Erickson uses quotation marks to negate the conception

* *Daily Californian*, December 7, 1960, p. 1; *Oakland Tribune*, December 8, 1960.

† *People's World* [California Communist paper] October 22nd, 1960.

that any of the students from the university could possibly be Communist dupes. Mr. Erickson's article, entitled "Separating Issues In Events of Last May," read, in part, as follows:

"Last May, the House Un-American Activities Committee held a series of hearings in San Francisco. These hearings which were accompanied by a series of disturbances, brought national attention to the University of California. A film of unknown origin entitled 'Operation Abolition' which purports to depict the Communist inspiration behind the incidents and how Communists succeeded in 'duping' the public (particularly students) has had wide circulation. In this film an impression is left with the viewer that students from the University of California are the only students attending the hearings and participating in the disturbances. By lifting quotations out of context from the *Daily Californian* it is made to appear that virtually the whole student body was taking up violent action in opposition to the hearing.

As a result of personal visits with alumni both within and outside the state and from letters received, I have found a great deal of confusion existing as to the circumstances leading up to these incidents and the university's position regarding them. So far as the incidents themselves are concerned, let me make this point absolutely clear at the outset. No one (and I mean no one) in the administration of the university has condoned the violence that occurred.

Let us examine for a bit the facts surrounding the presence of the numbers of students who represented every college and university in the Greater Bay Area.

First, it is interesting to note that nowhere in the film or in still pictures taken at the scene has there been evidence that students publicized themselves as representing any college, university, or official student organization. Also, the best estimates we can obtain suggest that only 200 of our students were in attendance at any one time. Of these, possibly 150 were involved inside City Hall and 31 were actually arrested.

In a way I am concerned that there were not more students in attendance. For days prior to the beginning of these hearings, a great battle raged in the metropolitan papers questioning the procedure and the very existence of the committee on the one hand and stressing the importance of the work of the committee on the other. Well-known political, religious, and business leaders publicly took sides on this issue and further added to an already volatile situation.

Now in a community composed of scholars, would it not be expected (would it not be hoped?) that there would be a great deal of thought, discussion and interest in a matter of such obvious national importance? Everyone is quick to call the university's attention to its grave responsibilities for educating our nation's leaders of tomorrow. Do these same people feel a leader educated solely on textbooks and test tubes will provide the enlightened direction we need so desperately in the years ahead. All students (I really should say all citizens) who had an interest in the hear-

ings of the House Un-American Activities Committee had a right and a duty to be at the San Francisco City Hall last May.

As you view this film and consider its implications, I suggest you unemotionally consider the presence of interested persons at the hearings separate and apart from the violence that occurred. Responsible citizenship does not include action through violence. But participation and interest in the workings of our government are basic tenets of responsible citizenship. As already stressed, the university does not in any sense condone the regrettable tactics followed by some students, but at the same time the university would be the first to defend the students' entitlement to act as citizens."

As we have heretofore shown, Mr. Erickson is dead wrong in his contention that Communists did not dupe the public or the students. He leaves this impression by the use of his quotation marks around the word "dupe" but he apparently had not read the report by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation whose counter-subversive agents had penetrated the very Communist units where the meticulous strategy for the San Francisco demonstration was hatched.

In the meantime SLATE, although unable to finance its own publication and although it was unable to successfully assist the continued publication of the *Independent Californian*, nevertheless found funds from some source for the purpose of implementing its efforts to undermine the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to finance its inter-campus activities and advertisements in expensive magazines for the exploitation of its anti-HUAC record "The Sounds of Protest." In the January 1961 issue of *Harper's Magazine* on page 110, this paid advertisement appeared:

"The sounds of protest, are you willing to listen?

Five thousand persons demonstrated against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco in May of this year. Their concern was violation of constitutional rights. Their dissenting voices spoke in your interest—they should be heard. Listen and understand why they are being joined by others across the nation.

The demonstrations of that week were recorded along with excerpts of testimony and have been reproduced on a 12" LP recording by SLATE, a university political party concerned with the protection of civil liberties and civil rights. Copies of this recording are available to you now. Are you willing to listen?

Sounds of protest—12" LP recording \$2, three for \$5, prices include postage. Send check or money order (no C. O. D.'s) to: SLATE, (Department H) P. O. Box 893, Berkeley, California."

The advertisement is accompanied by a footnote to the effect that SLATE is "an officially recognized student political party at the University of California."

No statement appears in connection with this advertisement concerning the source of the sounds on the record, by whom they were taken, how excerpts from the testimony were obtained on sound tracks, or who—if anyone—was assigned the responsibility of producing this record and determining what portions of the hearings, which lasted

for more than one day, should appear thereon. Perhaps some right-wing publication may accuse the distributors of the record of unfair editing, bias, slanting the production in favor of the demonstrators and the subpoenaed witnesses and against the Congressional Committee. And, if such a conservative publication indeed makes such an accusation, perhaps the outraged citizenry will take up the matter and we will soon find the charges echoing and reverberating from angry liberal editors and angry progressive speakers throughout the country. This is what happened when Herb Caen announced in his *San Francisco Chronicle* column that the forthcoming November 24th 1960 issue of *The Reporter* would contain an allegation that the film 'Operation Abolition' had been wrongfully edited in favor of the Committee and against the gathered demonstrators and was full of hokum and downright misstatements of fact. And Mr. Caen's statements, as well as the article that did appear in *The Reporter* according to schedule, together with the angry exclamations issued by members of SLATE and echoed and re-echoed by other liberal organizations and publications throughout the country still show no signs of abating.

Mr. White Goes to Washington

Having exorted the students, mounted the campus balustrades and whipped up a frenzy of hatred against the House Committee, Burton White, teaching assistant in the English Department of the University of California at Berkeley,* led a band of dedicated demonstrators to Washington, D. C. They were drawn from all parts of the country but principally from the West Coast and the New York Metropolitan area, from which several bus loads left for Washington to enable the occupants to participate in the demonstration at the White House on the morning of January 2. Congressman James Roosevelt, who had announced he would deliver an address urging that the Committee be discontinued, had a change of mind over the weekend preceding the convening of Congress and the speech was never given. When the actual picketing of the White House was scheduled to commence, 212 marchers for Operation Abolition started to trudge along their route when they were surprised to find themselves being picketed by twice that many students who had been sent from Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. For the first time, a group of pickets of this character were far out-numbered by their opponents. During the evening meeting, the Operation Abolition program was an exceedingly dull affair. Congressman Roosevelt had backed out at the last moment; the protesting students had been out-picketed and out-numbered, and some of them actually dozed through the speeches by Burton White, Aubrey Williams, and Dr. Willard Uphams, the latter having been recently released from a New Hampshire jail for having committed a contempt before the House Committee.

Then, by the overwhelming vote of 412 to 6, Congress repudiated Roosevelt's somewhat half-hearted attempt to slash funds allocated to the House Committee and gave it all of the \$331,000 it had requested. The account in the *Los Angeles Times* for March 2, 1961, described the occurrence as follows:

* We feel reasonably safe in assuming he is still secure in his job.

"The roll call vote endorsing the committee's work followed an unusually harsh attack on Roosevelt by Representative Francis E. Walter, the committee's chairman, who has announced his retirement at the end of this congress.

Walter got a standing ovation as he walked to the well of the house, where he charged that Roosevelt apparently does not share the view that Communism is an evil.

The Pennsylvania Democrat focused his attack on a statement which Roosevelt inserted in the Congressional Record this week denouncing the committee as 'a bad institution which has tended to grow worse in its depredations on our liberties as well as on our democratic reputation in the world today.' Of this statement, Walter declared:

'I was staggered at the extent to which it was based on faulty reasoning, distortion, falsehood and total failure to comprehend even remotely the nature of Communism.'

Walter said the only way he can interpret Roosevelt's statement '. . . is that he objects to the fact that the committee operates on what it believes to be a self-evident principle that Communism is evil and un-American. Apparently, he does not share that view.'

Roosevelt, speaking earlier, commented only briefly on his effort to cut the committee's funds. Instead, he rested his case on the statement he inserted in the records and said his fight against the committee was not because of its work but because of 'how it does it.'

Others voting with Roosevelt against the committee appropriation were William Fitts Ryan (D-N. Y.), Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-Wis.), Thomas L. Ashley (D-O.), Edith Green (D-Ore.), and Barratt O'Hara (D-Ill.)."

At this juncture it seems fitting to close the section concerning the opposition to the reconstitution of the House Committee with a statement that appeared in the February 11, 1961, issue of *National Review*. This short account of the Committee's origin and activities contains information that has certainly been overlooked or ignored by those who seek its abolition. It must be born in mind constantly that legislative committees operating in this field have for one of their obligations the dissemination of accurate information to the public as well as reporting to the legislative bodies by which they were constituted. Unlike the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Army and Naval intelligence agencies, these committees provide the only official media through which the public as well as the legislature can keep informed on the extent to which internal subversion poses a menace to their way of life. The article states:

"The present House Committee on Un-American Activities came into being in 1945 and has continued as a standing committee of the house to the present time. It consists of nine members—five from the majority party and four from the minority party. The chairman is a member of the majority party, and regardless of whether his name is Harold H. Velde or Francis E. Walter, whether Republican from Illinois or Democrat from Pennsylvania, is a prime target of the Communist Party.

The Committee on Un-American Activities is authorized to investigate the extent, character and objectivity of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; the diffusion in the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda; all other questions related thereto that will aid the Congress in drafting remedial legislation. In addition, under the House Rule XI, Section 26, the committee is assigned certain 'watchdog' functions. It is its job to ride herd on those administrative organs charged with carrying out the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communists Control Act of 1954, and various provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

It is often charged that the committee has never revealed any important espionage activities and it accomplishes nothing that the F. B. I. could not do better. Such remarks are uttered out of naivete, or, in many cases, with the deliberate objective of deluding the public and lessening H. U. A. C.'s effectiveness. It was this committee which brought to light, to state just a few, the espionage activities of Arthur A. Adams, J. Peters, Gerhart Eisler, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Harry Dexter White, William W. Remington, Alger Hiss, as well as the atom bomb spy ring at the University of California Radiation Laboratory. Concerning the second charge that there is no need for H. U. A. C., it is argued that the F. B. I. is the investigative agency of the executive branch of the government which is primarily charged with responsibility for developing evidence upon which to base criminal prosecutions. This overlooks the fact that in our system of government it is the responsibility of the committees of the Congress to seek and receive public information upon which to base legislative recommendations either to strengthen our present laws or to suggest new laws to plug vacuums in our internal security program in general.

A recent research study conducted by the Legislative Research Service of the Library of Congress reveals among others the following legislative recommendations by H. U. A. C.:

1. Legislation to bring about the immediate mandatory deportation of alien spies and saboteurs.

2. Legislation to outlaw every political organization which is shown to be under the control of a foreign government.

3. Legislation to stop all immigration from foreign countries that refuse to accept the return of their nationals found under American law to be deportable from this country.

4. Added legislation to place restrictions on the distribution of totalitarian propaganda, when that distribution involves any cost to the American taxpayers, and when such propaganda emanates and is shipped from foreign sources.

5. Legislation to restrict the benefits of certain tax-exemption privileges now extended to a number of Communist fronts posing as educational, charitable and relief groups.

Recommendations by H. U. A. C. in the past have brought about the enactment of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and various provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. Many other recommendations

covered such diverse fields as: increased penalties for seditious conspiracy; single espionage statute for peace and war; foreign agents registration; publication of names of foreign agents; compulsory testimony in congressional investigations, etc.

As one by-product of its activity, the committee has produced a series of research studies. These include collections of original documents of the Communist movement, and the more recent multi-volume project, *Facts On Communism*, which is begun with outstanding monographs on Communist ideology by Professor Gerhart Niemeyer and on Soviet History by Professor David J. Dallin.

Is the committee fair to those who come before it? Any witness may consult with his lawyer whenever he so desires during the course of the hearing, and submit any statement he wishes. Before a scheduled hearing the witness may confer with the committee in confidence. If any citizen feels he has been in any manner wronged, he can demand and get a public hearing in which to state his case.

Finally, how about the cost? It is, as committee chairman Francis E. Walter pointed out in the 1959 annual report, relatively insignificant. 'A nuclear submarine,' said Walter, 'costs 49 million, and an attack carrier 280 million, a guided missile destroyer 34 million. The committee operated last year—and made its contribution to our defense effort in the vital field of information and legislation—on a budget of \$327,000, a small fraction of the cost of any major weapon in our military arsenal.' "

After the failure of the Burton White expedition to Washington, he returned to California and as this report is being written, was active in such extra-faculty activities as propagandizing high schools and other educational institutions in the southern part of the state.

The Film and the Record

We can see no useful purpose to be served in making an analysis of the film, "Operation Abolition," which has stirred a storm of controversy from one end of the state to the other and, indeed, in many other states throughout the country. This film was composed of a series of clips taken by a variety of individuals during the demonstration against the House Committee in May of 1960 when it opened its hearings in San Francisco. There have been heated allegations of distortion, mistakes in the film, biased editing of the picture, in an amazing effort to discredit it and the Committee. It has been exhibited to large audiences by service clubs, the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, Public Utilities, and a wide variety of patriotic organizations. One of the major arguments against the exhibition of the film is that it strongly emphasizes the Communist inspiration for the student demonstrations against the Committee in San Francisco.

Much has been made of the statement issued by young Douglas Wachter to the effect that he had been subpoenaed by the Committee because "they pick people whose ideas are liberal, radical, or in any way considered to be non-conformist." But this same Douglas Wachter, the sophomore student at the University of California, was also an

official delegate from the Northern Division of the Communist Party of California to the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, and while there he attended the symposium on youth problems, the proceedings of which have been described in the March 1960 *Political Affairs*, the national publication of the Communist Party, which declared that:

"Groups interested in Marxist study and action have appeared in a number of cities among college students, teenagers and other youth. The youth membership of our Party is growing faster than that of any other section. And our Party youth, feeling the need to advance the democratic youth movement, have with the rest of the Party begun the process of building mass ties and influence and can point with pride to accomplishments in the Youth March and other struggles." *

As a matter of fact the youth question was stressed more than any other subject on the agenda of the Seventeenth Convention and young Waechter, coming from a Communist family and a proletarian environment, returned to the campus at Berkeley bearing all of the inside information from the top command of the American Communist Party concerning the organization of youth movements and the planning of propaganda issues around which to construct a campaign of recruiting activities. Three hundred University of California faculty members signed a petition against the Committee. One hundred and sixty-five faculty members from San Francisco State College signed a full page protest in the student paper, and two professors of the Law School of the University of California spoke at a public meeting against the committee. Students For Civil Liberties on the Berkeley campus planned protest demonstrations in San Francisco's Union Square and at the City Hall and were addressed by State Assemblymen Phillip Burton and John A. O'Connell, both from San Francisco. Another speaker at the protest meeting was Canon Richard Byfield of the Grace Episcopal Cathedral in San Francisco, and students from other universities in the bay area attended and participated in the activities.

We wonder how many students and professors would have participated in these preliminary activities and in the demonstrations against the House Committee if the *Daily Californian*, the student newspaper, had printed the truth and announced that Waechter, the Communist Party's delegate to the Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, had been subpoenaed by the House Committee, not because his ideas were liberal or radical or non-conformist, but simply because he was a Communist Party functionary, an official delegate to a national convention, a student at the university, and the Committee might be interested under its congressional mandate to find out what he knew about this California arm of the world Communist conspiracy that had over and over again sworn to subvert and destroy us. This sort of fraud passes unnoticed and is lightly shrugged aside by individuals who are so obsessed with being "progressive" or "liberal" that they manufacture propaganda with

* *Political Affairs*, March 1960, page 73.

which to condemn J. Edgar Hoover, the F.B.I., legislative committees, or any other agency that seeks to investigate Communism.

The constitutionality of the House Committee has been established in a procession of judicial decisions that originated almost as soon as the Committee did; courts are, of course, reluctant to interfere with the legislative branch of the government and while the liberal arm of the United States Supreme Court has from time to time taken occasion to shake an admonitory finger toward the Committee, its constitutionality has been solidly established. These, and other questions concerning the Committee's operation constantly arise with every showing of the film "Operation Abolition," and the opponents of the Committee have gone to incredible measures for the purpose of discrediting both the Committee and the film. For example, we have described the announcement in a San Francisco newspaper column that in the forthcoming November fourteenth issue of a liberal publication called *The Reporter*, one Paul Jacobs would point out that the film had been highly colored and edited in favor of the House Committee. Actually, Mr. Jacobs did no more than make a series of guesses and remote surmises concerning the editing of the film, and raised a number of questions concerning its authenticity. He was no newcomer to this sort of hatchet-throwing, since he was once employed by the Fund for the Republic to perform a similar service concerning alleged black-listing of people in the entertainment world. This two-volume work proved so irresponsible and biased towards the left that it was ignored by authorities in the entertainment field and repudiated by security experts who were quick to spot its dishonesty.

Mr. Jacobs also purported to quote Sheriff Mathew Carberry of San Francisco County after having interviewed him, and quoted him to the effect that the demonstration was not Communist-inspired and that the students had not engaged in violence during their demonstrations. Similarly, Mayor Christopher was quoted as stating that the students were not motivated by Communist leadership. Fortunately, both of these officials were subsequently contacted and Sheriff Carberry declared with some degree of emphasis that he had never heard of Jacobs, never spoke to him, and was entirely misquoted. He then set the record straight by declaring that the demonstration was led by a handful of well-known Communists and that he, the sheriff, had observed them in action. Mayor Christopher set the record straight by making the same kind of forthright declaration.

The National Council of Churches was soon embroiled in the controversy, and issued a statement based on propaganda by opponents of the Committee and consisting of such a mixture of half-truths, untruths, confusion and mistakes, that the First Baptist Church of San Francisco, on February 26, 1961, declared that it was severing its connection with the Council in protest over the Council's condemnation of the film. Pastor of the church, Reverend Curtis Nims, was also director of the Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches, a position from which he resigned at the same time his church severed its affiliation with the National Council of Churches. Reverend Nims was present during two days of the hearing, had a first-hand knowledge of what occurred, and was unable to tolerate the sort of material issued by the Council.

The boldness with which this propaganda campaign against the film mounted in fury and intensity eloquently revealed the lengths to which Communists and their supporters will go in order to achieve their objective by fair means or foul.

The report issued by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, concerning the Communist leadership of this demonstration, was carefully prepared and based on information secured by agents trained to a razor edge to separate fact from fancy; all of them college men, graduates of accredited law schools, and some of the most highly-skilled specialists in the world in the field of counter-subversive activities. Their information, painstakingly gathered over months of careful preparation and activity, linked with the reports of counter-intelligence agents planted deep in the heart of the Communist apparatus itself, comprises a document of unimpeachable authority from the most responsible source in the United States. Nevertheless, just as Carey McWilliams, Sr., used the magazine he edited for the purpose of undermining public confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, so the opponents of the House Committee branded the F. B. I. account of how known Communists nudged a lot of non-Communist students into a demonstration against the Committee in San Francisco as a mass of inaccuracies.

Those who would like to see the House Committee discontinued would have us disbelieve J. Edgar Hoover, discount the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning Communist leadership of the demonstration, would have us discount the eye witness description of what happened by a group of bay area ministers, and on the other hand would have us believe reporters like Paul Jacobs, and the articles appearing in the left-wing press, like the *Nation*, the *Daily People's World*, the *Daily Worker*, and *The Reporter*.

The SLATE organization prepared a long-playing record called *Sounds of Protest*, which was, as we have stated, prepared from a collection of sound tracks and tape recordings of the proceedings at the San Francisco hearings and the demonstrations outside the hearing room. Obviously it would be impossible to play on record all of the sounds that were emitted both inside the hearing room and by the demonstrators outside for the entire three days of the demonstrations. Very few people would sit still for three days, even with breaks for necessary sleeping and eating, to listen to that kind of disconnected sound. Similarly, audiences could hardly be expected to look at a film of such magnitude that it would depict everything that occurred during the three day period. Consequently, just as the film is composed of a series of selected clips, so was the record prepared from a selected series of sound tracks and tapes. Apparently the record has provoked no such interest as has the film; although the effort is being made to present the film first and then follow it with a playing of the recording. This is calculated to give a balance to the program and present both sides of the controversy.

One thing that has been accomplished by the film has been the provocation of the controversy, and the stimulation of interest in counter-subversive activities. In the 20 years of our existence we have never received such an avalanche of letters from all over the United States asking us for information about Communist infiltration of educational

institutions; letters from irate parents complaining that their children tell them about the reorientation of some of their classes to present a series of propaganda lectures to captive audiences; letters from people inquiring about the John Birch Society; inquiring about various Communist front organizations, trade union activities, and a wide variety of inquiries that have deluged us for the past 18 months. We have answered every one of these letters and complimented the writers on their patriotism and their alertness. If the film has done nothing else, we repeat that it has been highly effective in jolting a characteristically apathetic public into action.

Authority and Responsibility

Does any reasonable person believe that *all* students who suddenly come to believe that the F. B. I. cannot be trusted, that police authority should be ignored, that investigations of Communist are all witch-hunts that deliberately crush civil rights, that the Red Chinese are nothing more than progressive agricultural peasants, and that Castro is a product of American imperialism—does any reasonable person believe that *all* these students get such concepts in their homes? A few may. Douglas Wachter is a good example.

Read our 1959 report about the questionnaire circulated among university professors at Berkeley, insidiously planting the idea that a massive snooping operation has been inaugurated, and specifically asking each one "how many times in the past year has a representative from the F. B. I. talked with you—for any purpose?" This questionnaire was circulated five years ago and we urge you to read all of it on pages 58-81 of our last report.

Next came an attack in *The Nation* edited by the father of a SLATE leader at Berkeley, further adding to the campaign against the F. B. I. Then came the proposal by Professor David Rynin of the Speech Department at Berkeley that the faculty of that institution thenceforth refuse to cooperate with the F. B. I. Rynin's son was also a SLATE leader. Then came a test called "Examination in Subject A—Form 59." This English test was circulated among all applicants for admission to the state university. Last year the examination contained this question: "What are the dangers to a democracy of a national police organization like the F. B. I., which operates secretly and is unresponsive to public criticism?"

Dr. John R. Lechner, 23rd District American Legion Americanism Chairman, immediately called this matter to the attention of the American Legion and this Committee. There followed a rash of angry editorials, one of which we quote herewith:

"The test, for use both at the Berkeley institution and at the University of California at Los Angeles, is on English and is entitled 'Examination in Subject A—Form 59.' It covers sentence structure, vocabulary, punctuation and composition.

But some of the questions asked in the test stray far afield from an examination in English to questions involving political philosophy, such as: 'What are the dangers to a democracy of a national police organization like the F. B. I. which operates secretly and is unresponsive to public criticism?'

This certainly is a leading question, and sounds like it could have been written by a Communist or Fellow-Traveler. Let us take this question apart. 'What are the dangers to a democracy of a national police organization like the F. B. I.?' Well, are there actually dangers, or are there only what the Communists, radicals and some extreme liberals try to pose as dangers? What is the history of the F. B. I.?

Under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has had a long and excellent record of unquestioned loyalty and service to the country on a fair and impartial basis.

Its work has been *only* investigative on a national scale and while it is true that much of its investigative effort has been aimed at Communist activities, who is there who can point to Communism in the United States and state that this force is not a national danger to this country?

Kidnapping and many other crimes also are investigated by the F. B. I., particularly those which involve violation of federal laws.

It is not a prosecuting agency and has nothing to do with the prosecution of a crime. All it produces is the evidence, the facts, upon which prosecutions can be based by the proper agencies if found to be warranted by those agencies.

It is the unqualified opinion of this newspaper that the people of the United States should be eternally grateful that they have the Federal Bureau of Investigation as one of their main arms of protection for this country. It also is our opinion that there is no necessity for this type of slanted question in any test for any subject.

We do believe that Governor Brown, the Chancellor of the University of California, and the Board of Regents of the university should consider this a matter serious enough to merit a full investigation to determine just who is responsible for this type of test question."*

This particular Subject A examination was devised by members of the faculty of the university. We hasten to make it plain that we do not accense any of them of subversion, fellow-traveling, or Communism. We wholeheartedly agree with the editorial in the *Los Angeles Herald Express* to the effect that the question was ill-advised, bordered on common stupidity, and by strange coincidence fitted perfectly into the pattern of the attack against the Federal Bureau of Investigation that has been outlined above. The individuals who devised this test were: E. L. Jones, T. S. Grant, R. Abecarian, W. B. Allan, D. W. Beery, E. A. Brunelle, P. Buhlig, Jr., A. G. Denman, H. R. DiBona, R. S. Espin, J. L. Halverson, E. O. Hutchins, B. S. Levy, G. Martin, M. E. Mulligan, M. C. Petersen, F. E. Sherman, M. L. Shook, D. M. VanBecker, W. W. Vasse, P. J. Velguth, C. H. Wheat, A. P. Wigger, H. H. Williams.

The effect of this sort of insistent propaganda, repeated in universities and colleges throughout the country, is abetted by a stream of consistent and steady propaganda from the Communist press, and

* *Los Angeles Herald Express*, February 12, 1960.

aided by such potent Communist fronts as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Frank Wilkinson until he was recently sent to a federal penitentiary when the United States Supreme Court upheld his conviction for contempt of the House Committee. The former organization, as we have heretofore indicated, is nation-wide in scope, while the latter was limited to the Southern California area until the demonstrations in San Francisco last May, when it joined with Northern California movements in the joint effort to undermine the prestige of the Committee and prevent its reconstitution.

It is not the prerogative of this Committee to in any way interfere with the operation of educational institutions. But it is the Committee's business to report to the legislature any subversive influences in our schools and colleges. We have already demonstrated that when a student newspaper at U. C. L. A. fell into the hands of student radicals, the propaganda commenced and continued until the strangle-hold was broken. Several of the students who had been staff members of that paper later became staff members of adult Communist publications and some of them eventually became officials in the Communist Party. We found precisely the same situation existing on the Berkeley campus of the state university immediately preceding the demonstrations against the House Committee. Communists, locally, globally, anywhere—will invariably take immediate advantage of the least opportunity to fill a vacuum or seize a chance to inject themselves into student activities and to mold student opinion into conformity with the Communist Party line. This they do, of course, by carefully concealing the real Communist control and masquerading under the guise of liberal activity.

We are compelled to observe that too frequently we find an abundance of idealism on the part of educational administrators concerning problems of subversive infiltration, but usually accompanied by a virginal naiveté. We must also observe that it seems to us when unrestrained propaganda on off-campus issues is permitted on the property of the state university, the unmistakable implication will be drawn that the expressions emanating therefrom are sanctioned by the university administration and are expressions of the students as a whole. There must have been some such idea on the part of the university administration because the earliest Kerr directive denied students or student organizations the use of university facilities for the purpose of carrying on any propaganda for or against a cause or movement which had no direct concern with student affairs on the campus. This position having met with a storm of protest against the smothering of freedom of speech, the administration watered it down to provide a more liberal rule which allowed individual students and voluntary organizations to take positions on off-campus issues as long as they did not violate the law and took reasonable precautions to make clear that they did not act in the name of the university or with its approval or sponsorship and that they did not represent the student body as a whole.*

There are, perhaps, some academicians who believe that academic freedom is not violated by forbidding a professor from reorienting his class in, say, the study of the works of Chaucer, into a convenient medium through which he can harangue his captive student audience with his ideas about why we should bring our troops home from Europe,

* *California Monthly*, July 1960, pages 30-31.

recognize Communist China and East Germany, immediately scrap our arms, liquidate the federal and state committees investigating Communism, abolish the F. B. I., and similar Party-line propaganda which has nothing whatever to do with the advertised course of instruction. Clearly, this would constitute a prostitution of the purpose and nature of his employment, a fraud on the students and a palpable violation of academic freedom. If such a practice were not an arrogant violation of academic freedom, then curricula would cease to have its meaning so far as the students were concerned, and there would be chaos on the campus, indeed. If it would be wrong for a professor to thus misuse the classroom facilities of the university for this sort of business, it appears to us that it would be equally wrong to allow the professors to harangue students at will on off-campus matters by using other parts of the university property, thereby opening wide the doors to the most dangerous kind of free-wheeling propaganda, to say nothing of causing the cultural dignity of a great university to disintegrate into an arena for cheap political argument. There are, perhaps, some educators who interpret this sort of business as academic freedom, but we assure our readers that there are many highly respectable educators of wide experience who believe that to permit the professors to leave their classrooms and try to influence students in the academic groves on off-campus matters is not compatible with true academic freedom.

The Mock Trials

Another new practice on the campuses of some of our educational institutions stemming from the mass attack against the House Committee, have been the holding of mock trials ridiculing the Committee and usually sponsored by the political science department of the institution together with the American Civil Liberties Union. The 23rd District Americanism Commission of the Los Angeles Council of the American Legion reported such an occurrence to us and to the Legion and to the appropriate authorities at Long Beach City College, where one of these trials was held on Friday, December 2, 1960. The report, in full, is as follows:

"This noon, before more than 600 students at Long Beach State College, Dr. James Lean, Professor of Political Science, and Dr. George Korber, Professor of Sociology for the College, jointly sponsored the American Civil Liberties Union in a mock trial, imitating the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The purpose of this trial was to ridicule this important congressional committee, and to enlist membership in the college branch of the A. C. L. U., as well as to get signatures on a petition circulated by that organization calling for the abolition of the H. C. U. A.

Several 'witnesses' were called before the mock committee, and the questions propounded were designed to make the attitude of the 'House Committee members' seem ridiculous and in violation of 'basic American rights.' One witness refused to answer on both the first and fifth amendments, and comments by both the witness and the interrogators were so framed as to make the stand of the actual committee un-American. All through this questioning there

were boos and laughters of derision, directed at the real committee, represented in the mock trial by three students.

The point of hiding behind the fifth amendment does not impugn the loyalty of a witness, was dramatized to such a point that the audience reached fever heat in its opposition to the very hint of disloyalty, meaning the disloyalty of notorious witnesses who have appeared before the H. C. U. A. in recent hearings. When the chairman of the mock committee asked one witness if he was subversive, the entire student group broke out in wild applause!

The final witness was Dr. LeRoy C. Hardy of Long Beach State, who paraded down the aisle holding a large book which was decorated with a huge swastika emblem which caused a roar of applause from the audience. He identified himself as a 'Goldwater democrat' which elicited boos from the students.

One of the witnesses was asked to admit attending a Communist meeting. The chairman said that an F. B. I. agent had given testimony to the effect that this witness *was* present. When the witness refused to answer, or to acknowledge knowing this agent, he said, 'Then you say this man [F. B. I. agent] was a liar?' There were tremendous cheers from the students. No Communist propagandist could have rendered greater damage to the integrity of our Bureau of Investigation among these students in our state-supported institution than the interrogator, whose script was in all likelihood inspired by technicians in propaganda in the office of the American Civil Liberties Union!

The final person to take the stand was Dr. George Korber, who made an astounding appeal to his student audience to support the American Civil Liberties Union in its program to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He cited three books in which the authors claimed that this nation is losing its freedoms, and that it is essential to abolish all agencies which have the temerity to question a person's 'political convictions' or his loyalty. He said that he was the advisor on the campus for the A. C. L. U., and that support of the program of that organization is the only hope left for the preservation of democracy. Then he urged all present to join the school branch of the A. C. L. U., and to sign petitions at the back of the room, supporting Cong. Roosevelt's move to abolish the H. C. U. A.

This was the most flagrant example of propaganda to destroy our internal security establishment I have ever witnessed.

Inasmuch as Drs. Lean and Korber are both in positions of tremendous influence over the minds of thousands of impressionable American youth at Long Beach State College, and

Inasmuch as both these propagandists, conducting their sinister campaigns to undermine a vastly important committee of the Congress, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, are on the payroll of the university, supported by taxpayers' money, I urge this Los Angeles County Council of the American Legion here and now to pass unanimously this emergency motion, which I know:

I move that this assembly of American Legionnaires, comprising the Los Angeles County Council, dedicated to the preservation of American institutions and American ideals, instruct its Com-

mander to communicate forthwith with the California Board of Trustees, the Governor of California, and with other agencies in authority over the affairs of Long Beach State College, demanding the expulsion of Dr. James Lean and Dr. George Korber from the staff of that college, and from any state institution with which they may become associated; and that copies of this report be mimeographed and mailed to every member of the California Board of Trustees, the State Superintendent of Education and the members of the Education Committee of both the Assembly and the Senate in the California Legislature.

Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the foregoing report and motion were adopted by the Los Angeles County Council of the American Legion, Department of California, in regular meeting assembled the second day of December, 1960.

WARREN B. HILLMAN,
Adjutant"

Last October there was an announcement in the student paper at U. C. L. A. that a Marxist study group had been started on the campus, supported by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, headed by Michael Lasky and advised by Dr. Cattell of the Political Science Department. This group, of which Lasky, Robert Kovner, and Davis Axelrod were the leaders, stated that its fundamental purpose was to provide a medium for the "latent sympathy for the radical movement on the campus," and to secure "noted speakers from the American radical movement to aid in the study of the American radical press.*" There was no recognition accorded to this group by the U. C. L. A. administration, however; far less interest in the movement than was anticipated by its instigators, and the movement was never actually activated.

On the campus of the University of Southern California there was a move to institute both a students' unit of the American Civil Liberties Union as well as an anti-Communist student organization known as Citizens United for America, dedicated "to preserve and defend the American ideals," and in which Ronald Sugerman, a U. S. C. junior, was the head. Contending that only students can effectively combat Communist infiltration on the campus level, Sugerman declared that the purpose of his organization was not to cause fear or dissension between student body and faculty; that it would oppose those groups which abused the right of free speech by labeling as un-American everything they might not fully be in agreement with.† So far as we are aware this organization is still in existence, although its activities have received little publicity.

We have been receiving complaints from parents of students in two southern California high schools to the effect that their instructors in civics and social studies have been directing them to purchase and study publications at newsstands off the campus that carry radical left-wing propaganda, at the same time making it clear that the use of such materials openly in the classroom would be frowned upon by school authorities. We have received complaints, and we are still receiving them, from reliable sources situated in close contact with

* U. C. L. A. *Daily Bruin*, Thursday, October 6, 1960.

† Southern California *Daily Trojan*, November 21, 1960.

major colleges and universities throughout the state to the effect that there is a noticeable and alarming increase on the part of students indicating a tolerance toward Communism, resentment against efforts to investigate Communist activity, sympathy with Communist front organizations, and a constantly growing disrespect for constituted authority.

In the interest of protecting our sources of information, which we consider completely reliable, we do not believe it appropriate to publish them herewith. We wish to make it plain, however, that we have made them available to responsible educational administrators, and we will make them available to any other responsible individual or organization that can demonstrate a legitimate interest in such information.

At the University of California on March 20, 1961, President Clark Kerr declared that there was a growing danger from both the extreme Right and the extreme Left, and with these sentiments we heartily agree. When this Committee first commenced its investigation of subversive activities in 1940 and 1941, we were confronted with a situation somewhat comparable to the situation which exists today. The intense feeling in the earlier era was engendered by widespread unemployment, a profound economic depression, an acceleration in Communist recruiting, a brashness of open and arrogant Communist activity, and a crop of extremely reactionary organizations that were unofficial and usually operated by sensationalists, anti-Semites, publicity seekers, and self-appointed investigators who delighted in the somewhat conspiratorial and romantic atmosphere they imagine attends counter-subversive investigation. Actually, these organizations are always a menace. They issue irresponsible statements, lists of alleged Communist, Fellow-Travelers and members of subversive front organizations that are riddled with glaring inaccuracies. Their "investigators" are constantly stumbling into operations that have been prepared for months by responsible official agencies, only to ruin a great deal of painstaking work, and hamper legitimate investigation. A host of these unofficial organizations is now appearing, just as they appeared in the late thirties and early forties. Our reports are replete with detailed investigations of such organizations as the Friends of Progress, Mankind United, the Ku Klux Klan, the Umberto Nobile Fascio, the German-American Bund, and the group headed by Gerald L. K. Smith.

We do not believe that any desirable purpose could be served by throwing the facilities of our educational institutions open to representatives of these organizations, nor do we believe that any mock trials or other cheap theatrics should be permitted to invade the state campuses for propaganda purposes or to stimulate recruiting by any off-campus organization; and we must bear in mind that if it is wrong to offer the facilities of our campuses to the representatives of reaction, it is equally wrong to offer them to representatives of the Communist Party or apologists or propagandists for either type of organization. It is appropriate for us to repeat here, in order to avoid any possible confusion, that we regard the Communist Party and the international Communist movement as the most reactionary, fascist, totalitarian, and serious threat to our civil liberties in existence; and we see no difference between it and other authoritarian movements. It makes no dif-

ference whether fascism exists in one country or another; it is the same wherever it is found and we are convinced from our 20 years of studying the problem that there is no practical difference between the totalitarianism of Mussolini or Hitler or Lenin or Stalin or Khrushchev, or whether their symbols be brown, black or red.

SLATE and the ROTC

For approximately two years SLATE has opposed the required Reserve Officers Training Corps program as compulsory for the undergraduate students at the state university. During the latter part of last year, the opposition on the part of this student organization was greatly accelerated, accompanied by the usual campaign of petitions, speeches and handbills and culminated by "... an unprecedented picketing of Berkeley R. O. T. C. drills the day before the regents met in Santa Barbara," last December.*

We are not describing this situation for the purpose of criticizing the right of any student group, radical or otherwise, which is officially recognized by the university administration, to criticize any on-campus matter. But we wish to emphasize the difference between petitions, speeches and handbills, and the actual picketing of a course of study or any other official activity on the campus to such an extent that such overt demonstrations tend to get out of hand. No violence attended this picketing, and only about 50 students participated carrying placards and signs, but they did influence several uniformed members of the R.O.T.C. unit to participate in the demonstration in defiance of the commandant's orders. The director of the American Civil Liberties Union for Northern California injected himself preemptorily into the situation instead of consulting with university officials about the problem. The university's alumni publication, *The California Monthly*, refers to the situation as follows in the February 1961 issue heretofore cited:

"As the December Board of Regents meeting approached, SLATE increased activities in a final effort to influence anticipated Regent action on proposals to abolish the unpopular requirement. Finale to a program of petitions, speeches, and handbills was an unprecedented picketing of Berkeley R.O.T.C. drills the day before the regents met in Santa Barbara.

Nearly 2,000 university R.O.T.C. students marched through precise close-order drill on Edwards Field as, half a block away, a sharply contrasting, unmilitary group of 50 students quietly shuffled in front of Harmon Gym, carrying hand-lettered placards urging 'academic, not military discipline.'

Tough, gray-haired Col. John T. Malloy, R.O.T.C. Commanding Officer, counter-attacked at the students weakest point—grades—and by so doing, injected another flaming issue which, temporarily, overshadowed the R.O.T.C. program itself.

'If we find anyone picketing in uniform,' the veteran Military Academy graduate warned, 'that student may find it very difficult to pass the course.'

Enraged, stormy Ernest Besig, Northern California American Civil Liberties Chairman, [sic] offered legal support to any stu-

* *California Monthly*, February 1961, p. 16.

dent academically penalized for participation in the demonstration. Besig also fired missile-like letters to Malloy and to university officials questioning 'what authority the Army and Air Force R.O.T.C. has' over student action outside the classroom.

Defying Malloy's threat, five students wearing R.O.T.C. uniforms took part in the two-and-one-half-hour demonstration. The R.O.T.C. commandant—who viewed the picket line only as he drove by on his way to lunch—refused to say whether he would, or would not, carry out his threat.

In balmy, serene Santa Barbara next day the Regents voted unanimously to continue R.O.T.C. under the present program until 1962 or until President Kerr reports on the Kennedy administration's anticipated re-evaluation of defense needs as they relate to R.O.T.C. Conscientious objectors may be excused from R.O.T.C. at the discretion of the university president."

Approaching Crisis on the Campus

Quick to take advantage of the slightest opportunity, the Communist Party in California is now solidifying its position so far as the indoctrination and recruitment of youth is concerned. From sources that we consider eminently reliable, we have learned that the United Front movement we described in our 1959 report will be employed in this effort to manipulate the numerous radical student organizations on the various campuses of our state university, at private institutions and in our state and junior colleges, into collaboration with Communist fronts and other groups that are in sympathy with the general Communist line. Most of the Party's brass considers that a great mistake was made when the last Communist youth movement was liquidated. Incidentally, for the benefit of those educational administrators who are unable to find any documentation to support the fact that the Communist Party was actually operating the Labor Youth League as a Communist youth unit, the following language which appeared in the Party's national ideological publication should be of great practical assistance. It is also indispensable to educational administrators who should be equipped with reliable information concerning the Communist plan to reactivate its entire youth movement. Writing in this publication the former chairman of the Communist Party of the United States declared that one of the greatest errors made by the Communist Party "was the liquidation of the Labor Youth League. This was an act of revisionism and liquidation. It was done after the 16th convention. It is therefore indispensable that a new youth organization should be formed as quickly as possible. At the beginning, the youth movement will be pretty much a Communist organization but it must be broadened out in the mass work. The 17th National Convention should take this matter most earnestly in hand.*"

Gus Hall, newly-elected leader of the American Communist Party further emphasized this growing Communist move to regiment the youth on American campuses in his keynote speech to the 17th National Convention of the party on December 10, 1959. Bearing in mind that young Douglas Wachter was a delegate from California to this

* "On The Draft Resolution," by William Z. Foster, *Political Affairs*, December 1959, pages 51-2.

convention, the remarks of Mr. Hall assumed added significance when he declared to the assembled delegates:

"Among the youth, there are growing signs of rebellion against the lack of decent jobs and training facilities, against the McCarthyite intimidation which disgraces our educational institutions, against segregation, and against the corruption and lack of perspective emanating from the cold-war atmosphere and pressures. To a growing extent, youth are becoming active in the peace movement today."^{*}

In Los Angeles, San Francisco, and in Minnesota there have been demonstrations by several hundred students participating openly in collaboration with other organizations for a wide variety of objectives. The ideological publication of the Communist Party has also stepped up its objective of having Communists speak to students on the campuses and to encourage the development of Marxist study groups and classes as extra-curricular activities in conjunction with the regular course of studies at these institutions.

For example, in *Political Affairs* for August 1960 on page 29 this statement appears:

"Social problem discussion groups, Marxist study groups and classes have grown. In a few places Left student campus political parties have emerged. Speakers from the Communist Party are being invited to campuses more frequently and are getting a better response.

In the absence of alternatives, a number of youth with a positive orientation to the lands of socialism, to Marxism and who are friendly or not anti-Communist have drifted into the Young People's Socialist League. Y.P.S.L. is the youth organization of the Socialist Party Social-Democratic Federation."

As these student organizations have flourished, they are soon placed in contact with Soviet or Communist units with which they can "collaborate." At Temple University in Philadelphia, for example, the campus student newspaper carried an article reporting an exchange of correspondence with Tashkent, U.S.S.R., on methods for implementing the drive for peace. The National Student Association has also organized trips to Communist countries and student exchanges with Poland and the Soviet Union. The American Friends Service Committee and the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations have sponsored a series of "peace seminars," and in New York 500 college and high school students demonstrated in a refusal to obey civil defense regulations to take cover in emergency security exercises.[†] The same article, entitled "American Youth on the Move," should be of practical interest to administrators in that it declares that the weakest element in the Communist effort to organize the entire radical youth field at educational institutions is the fact that there is a dearth of disciplined young men and women in the Communist Party who are giving direction and drive to these liberal organizations. While the force of young

* "Our Sights to the Future," Gus Hall, Keynote Address to the 17th National Convention, Communist Party of the United States, *Political Affairs*, January 1960, page 1 and page 13.

† *Political Affairs*, op. cit., pages 27-33.

Communist cadres is growing in number, they are not keeping up with the mass movement and as a result, declare these Communist strategists, many possibilities for democratic development are not being exploited.

"It is easier," they declare, "to split a movement with red-baiting when there is no substantial Communist force to show in life what Communists really stand for. For all these reasons a strong, growing left current is required.

Communist and progressive youth have been giving a good account of themselves in all the youth struggles mentioned. But they exist in too few places."†

Concerning the plans for the invasion of American campuses, we should pay attention also to the youth resolution that was adopted by the 17th National Convention of the Party to which young Wachter was a delegate from California. It is also important, in considering these official declarations, to understand the chronology and timing of events. The publication of these resolutions in *Political Affairs* and their distribution to Party leaders throughout the nation operates much as orders would be issued from headquarters to military commanders in the field. And these particular orders, officially adopted at the National Convention of the Party in March, were distributed just two months prior to the demonstrations against the House Committee in San Francisco. They read, in part as follows:

"... Groups interested in Marxist study and action have appeared in a number of cities among college students, teen-agers and other youth. The youth membership of our Party is growing faster than any other section. And our Party youth, feeling the need to advance the democratic youth movement, have with the rest of the Party begun the process of building mass ties and influence, and can point with pride to accomplishments in the youth march and other struggles. (Committee's italics.)

We urge every state committee to develop its mass youth work, through education and action, in such a manner that the conditions for setting up local Marxist youth organizations will emerge as rapidly as possible.

Every section of the country can point to signs of the upsurge. In one area the local young democrats are breaking with the long domination of their adult leadership and entering the struggle for a progressive platform.

To work among youth is to work for the future. The present generation of youth, lead by the working class, is the guarantee of success in the struggle for peaceful co-existence. It is also the base of the party for the future. Without full attention to its needs and development, therefore, the party jeopardizes its own existence as an effective vanguard. *Youth work must be placed next to work in the labor and Negro peoples movements as a major area of mass work."**

A source of constant amazement to the uninitiated is the magnificent coordination of the international Communist machine. Thus, the non-

† *Political Affairs*, op. cit., p. 33.

* Resolutions from the 17th National Convention, Communist Party of the United States, *Political Affairs*, March 1960, p. 73-6.

Communist countries of the world are deluged with wave after wave of hardhitting propaganda that is unleashed simultaneously all over the world. Millions of pieces of this propaganda emerge in a steadily increasing volume from the Communist presses of the Soviet Union and every one of its satellite countries, and are translated into the languages of all nations they seek to influence. Thus the Party line is announced and the basis is laid for all manner of activity to further the Soviet foreign policy, lay the foundation for the penetration of non-Communist countries in the Middle East and the Latin American nations. And the Communists forecast with utter frankness and boldness such drives as the one we are now observing for the capture of our youth.

The *World Marxist Review* is a formidable piece of this propaganda published in the following languages: French, Russian, Chinese, Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Roumanian, Spanish, Swedish, Vietnamese, and English. The masthead reads: "Workers of All Countries, Unite! World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism, Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties." The issue from which we will now quote was printed by Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada, and carries an article entitled: "Work Among the Youth. The New in Our Movement." It was written by Renzo Trivelli and is based on numerous questionnaires sent to capitalist countries and filled in and returned by radical youth leaders who were in touch with the situation in their respective localities. Even a casual review of this important article shows with complete clarity and alarming emphasis that the drive to recruit and regiment American youth in our universities and colleges and in our trade union movement is simply an integral part of a world movement along the same line and for the same purpose: the creation of a formidable, ideologically prepared, defiant mass of Communist oriented young people. The article glows with enthusiasm at the successes this program has met throughout the world; it discusses in detail the strides that have been made in the Latin American countries in arousing student resentment against "U. S. Imperialism." It describes the defiant mass demonstrations on the part of university students and young trade unionists sweeping through Latin American countries, one after the other, those in Argentina being described in the following language:

"... Meetings and demonstrations swept the country. The movement brought the entire youth into action. Closer ties have been established between the students and workers. The call: 'Workers and Students, Forward in Unity!' became one of the slogans of the movement. Our young people react quickly to political events. The youth organizations of the Radicals and other parties protested against nuclear tests in the South Atlantic. Youth political organizations, federations of university students and secondary school students in Buenos Aires jointly protested against the U. S.-Argentine naval maneuvers. Many examples could be cited showing how the young people—workers and other sections—are rallying in the struggle against imperialism. This indicates the

possibility of establishing a patriotic anti-imperialist youth front as a component of the national democratic front for which the Communist Party is working.”*

Radical Student Groups in California

Scattered throughout the universities and colleges of the state are a group of student political organizations ranging all the way from extreme political radicalism to those that advocate a relatively mild brand of socialism. The leading groups are as follows: TASC, originally started at the University of California at Berkeley, then switched to San Jose State College to be succeeded by SLATE at the Berkeley campus; The Young Socialist League, which has chapters in virtually all of the larger college and universities throughout the country; the Independent Student Union, which functions primarily at U.C.L.A., Los Angeles City College and Los Angeles State College; The California Student Committee, which conducts its operations primarily at U.C.L.A.; SCOPE, at San Francisco State College; Platform, at UCLA, and a recently-formed but apparently somewhat dormant political organization of the extreme left which functions in and around UCLA and which is known as the Independent Democrats of California. It is manifestly impossible for the Committee to reproduce in a report of this nature all of the information it has in its files on each of these organizations at each of the institutions where they function. We have found from experience that it is not a wise policy to announce a concentration of subversive activities at any educational institution or at any other area, for that matter, unless one is simultaneously prepared to produce the documented proof of the assertion. Furthermore, the indiscriminate publication of rumors, accusations from persons whose stories have not been thoroughly corroborated, and any other type of ephemeral material must all be carefully processed together with more solid evidence for the purpose of arriving at the truth. It is impossible to make any positive, provable declaration until every shred of available evidence has been carefully examined and analyzed. Then the documents of the organization themselves must be obtained and checked. The backgrounds of the officers and members of the organization, so far as possible, must be subjected to a thorough check, and until all of these things have been accomplished and an abundance of incontrovertible evidence obtained, any public charges are almost certain to be irresponsible.

We have also found, with very few exceptions, that after having obtained such evidence the sensible thing to do is to make the general situation known to the administrative heads of the institutions concerned, and endeavor to arrive at a cooperative plan for the purpose of remedying the situation. If that fails, then the Committee has no choice but to exercise its power to call in the witnesses for examination, take affidavits from cooperative witnesses, and then make a public statement either through a press release or in a report that is based on documentary evidence and sworn testimony. So far as this Committee is concerned, as we have already pointed out, when such a hearing is necessary, we prefer to conduct it in a closed session at first for the purpose of avoiding undue sensationalism, protecting our sources

* *World Marxist Review*, November 1959, Volume 2, Number 11, p. 68.

of information, and conducting the proceedings in a dignified, objective, and orderly fashion.

It should be made clear that the Independent Democrats of California has no formal connection with the Democratic Party. It was formed in September 1960 by young liberals who had been active in the campaign of Adlai Stevenson to secure the nomination for the Presidency of the United States. With headquarters at 7409½ West Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles 36, this organization got under way and was perfected after consultation with liberal party leaders throughout the country. In California the organization started with a list of 70,000 names of active workers "loyal to our organization."* We do not imply in any way that the Independent Democrats of California is a subversive organization, but we do wish to make it plain that this type of organization, drawing to itself the ultra-liberal young democratic elements throughout the state, offers a natural vehicle for Communist infiltration. We have already seen from the official statements of the Communist Party of the United States that this is precisely the type of unofficial, liberal democratic organization that they intend to penetrate and control. The same identical situation applies to each of the other organizations we have mentioned, including the Young Socialist League. In our last report we devoted considerable attention to the new united front and popular front movements in California and showed how the Communist Party was making common cause with organizations exactly like the ones we have mentioned above. This collaboration even extended, in some areas, to the Socialist Workers Party, or Trotskyite organization. It had been the target for the most frantic abuse from the Stalinists for many years, but with the death of Stalin in 1953 the real reason for the animosity came to an end, and since that time the world united front movement which consists simply of the Communist Party making common cause with every other liberal organization it can influence, succeeded in increasing infiltration of organizations like those mentioned above to an alarming degree throughout the United States and particularly in New York and California.

Capitulation to the Civil Liberties Union

The University of California for a great many years had forbidden the indiscriminate dissemination of propaganda and other printed material on the campuses. Such distribution was freely permitted at the entrances to the institutions, but it was felt that unless permission from university authorities was first obtained for the use of the campus as a place to circularize and propagandize the students with anything that was of a noncommercial character, the practice would only add to confusion, and under the guise of free speech plague the students with a barrage of highly controversial and inflammatory material.

At U.C.L.A. the attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California filed a suit in the Superior Court challenging the right of the university to prohibit distribution of unapproved printed material on the campus, the action having been taken at the instigation of groups of liberal students at UCLA who wished to hand out their propaganda material without any interference from university authority.

* Outline Sheet Issued by Independent Democrats of California, September 1960.

In conformity with the new look at the state institution under the administration of President Clark Kerr and the opening of the portals of the state university to such speakers as Merle Brodsky, the Communist activist, and Frank Wilkinson, the Communist propagandist and strategist, the university adopted still another extra-curricular political activity of the radical Left by rescinding the restriction, capitulating to the Civil Liberties Union, and issuing a new directive providing that the students may distribute any non-commercial literature as long as it does not interfere with the "orderly administration of university affairs or interrupt the free flow of traffic."

In light of the unmistakable and blunt announcements of the Communist Party of the United States to engage in an all-out campaign to infiltrate our educational institutions and unleash a flood of propaganda and blandishment for the purpose recruiting students to the Communist ranks, we are compelled to view this crumbling of the university's position to provide its students with educational facilities instead of political propaganda as simply one more step in removing all obstacles to an invasion of the campus by anyone who wishes to spread subversive propaganda of any nature. The student body at a great university is, in a sense, a captive audience. These young men and women are concentrated in one place for the purpose of obtaining an education. If it is not in the best interests of the institution and the students who attend it to permit the student newspaper to be used as a vehicle for unrestricted propaganda, then why should the campus or any other university facility be used for precisely the same purpose? To subject students who come from their classes to these controversial political arguments and floods of propaganda material, will be to open the flood gates to verbal harangues from such speakers as Brodsky and Wilkinson, accompanied by printed propaganda from all manner of radical sources, and the unrestricted license accorded to these practices will quickly pervade the campuses of this great educational institution with a thick, stifling atmosphere of acute political controversy. It would appear that there is enough of this sort of material in the daily press, over the air, on television, and practically every place now in American life, so that the student access to freedom of expression will not be smothered if this sort of distracting material is kept off the campus, so that the students can pursue their educational pursuits without the disrupting effects of these strident and extra-curricular diversions.

Communist Strategy for Youth

J. Edgar Hoover, whose long experience with problems of Communist subversion in this country have made him an eminent authority, and who is being attacked for the purpose of discrediting his statements, has this to say about the tactics now being used for the purpose of recruiting and indoctrinating the youth of our country :

"Of special interest to the Party are young people. The Party's youth organizations, such as the Young Communist League and its successors, are largely recruiters of young people for Communism. Many Party-sponsored activities—dances, parties and picnics—are aimed to win the allegiance of boys and girls. Time after time members join as teen-agers—the age at which the party would like to capture minds.

Many Party members have been recruited from Communist homes, the children of Party members. In America today many hundreds of children, growing up in Communist homes, are captives of this alien ideology. These youngsters are taught from the earliest years that God does not exist.

Party parents provide special Marxist instruction for their children. One father would sit down with his youngsters and discuss items appearing in the *Daily Worker*; another gave regular quizzes on Marxian literature; still another lectured on Marxian economics every morning at the breakfast table. When the child grows up, he is given Party tasks: distributing literature, taking up collections at rallies, walking in picket lines. He begins to get the 'feel' of Party life. In one instance a Communist family gathered around a table and spent an hour or two in Party self-criticism and promising to do better. Party morality is constantly being inculcated in these youthful minds, a belief that whatever helps the Party is good, whatever hinders it is immoral. In one instance a Communist father denounced a federal law that restricted the activities of the Party. His teen-age son, confused by the treatment, pointed out that the Act was a part of the law of the land. 'Son,' the father replied, 'If a law is bad you do not have to obey it.'

No wonder many hundreds of recruits spring from Communist homes as devotees of Marxism-Leninism.

Consider youth a prime target of Communist attack. Communists start out with this major premise: American imperialism aims to create a corrupt, completely militarized youth—a 'gagged,' 'scared' generation. This theme is expounded by word of mouth in forums, in literature, in cartoons, hoping to exploit the lofty dreams of youth.

The approach always has two sides: (1) Through deceptive line designed for public consumption and (2) the real Party line designed to advance Communism. Consider this deceptive line for youth:

(1) Increase trade with all countries, including the Communist block, to provide 'hundreds of thousands of new jobs for young people.'

(2) Outlaw all mass destruction weapons (atomic bomb).

(3) Promote universal disarmament and peace.

(4) Reduce all military expenditures and repeal the draft.

(5) Repeal all 'repressive' legislation and 'restore the Bill of Rights.'

(6) Restore full academic freedom for students and faculties.

(7) Promote world-wide youth friendship for peace and democracy, drop all bars to the travel of youth.

(8) Appropriate more money for schools, community centers, etc.

This is the line designed for public consumption. Sounds acceptable, doesn't it? But the Communists are not genuinely interested in improving the status of American youth.

For 'window dressing' they always support items desired by most of the people: lower taxes, higher wages, better housing,

old-age security, higher farm income. These are thoroughly legitimate interests. To support these claims, and many others, is not to be a Communist. The Party is simply attempting to exploit such interests for its own selfish aims. They become Party 'talking points.'

Behind the front, as in the call for world-wide youth friendship, more education, academic freedom, and so on, lurks the ulterior motive, the real Party line. The attractive 'come-along' points are merely bait. Look closely to see how the adoption of these demands, as conceived by the Party, would distort their true meanings and aid the Communist cause:

'Restore the Bill of Rights,' in Communist language, means eliminating legal opposition to Communism, stopping all prosecution of Communists, and granting amnesty to those presently in jail. 'Repeal the draft law' and 'peace' means curtailing our national defense effort and allowing Russia to become militarily stronger than the United States. 'Increase trade with the Soviet block' means selling materials that could be used by the Communist nations for armaments. 'Restore academic freedom' means to Communists that we shall permit the official teaching of Communist doctrine in all schools and that we should allow Communists to infiltrate teaching staffs. If the Communists had their way, America would be rendered helpless to protect herself. Incidentally, notice the Communist use of the word 'restore' indicating that freedom is already gone and that the Party stands for its return.

It is sad but true that many young people have been drawn into Communist clubs or study groups. Often they are highly intellectual but lonely students and fall under a sinister influence. We know this from the experiences of hundreds of former Communists and from acts of near treason we have been called upon to investigate.

American education, of course, does not make Communists; Communist education does. Communism, to survive, must depend upon a constant program of education because Communism needs educated people, even though it distorts the use to which their education is put."*

There is no question that President Clark Kerr acted quickly and decisively in reversing the resolution adopted by the Academic Senate of Northern California which provided that faculty members no longer would cooperate with the F.B.I. The resolution, however, was so patently illegal from its inception and a usurpation of the authority of the Regents of the institution that there was in fact no other course to take. The legal decision that the resolution was void and ineffective actually came from Counsel Cunningham for the university Regents, and the medium through which the decision was transmitted to the liberal gentlemen who proposed the resolution was President Kerr. But the Kerr directive that precipitated a great deal of controversy from

* *Masters of Deceit—The Story of Communism In America and How to Fight It*, by J. Edgar Hoover. Henry Holt & Co., N. Y., 1958, pages 114-115; 198; 199; 334.

both right and left on the campus, and which originally forbade the discussion of off-campus issues by the students, has been amended three times and watered down to the extent that it no longer provides any restraint whatever. The gates have been thrown open to Communists, faculty members, students, and anyone else who cares to utilize the university property as a brawling ground for political controversy. Now that the gates have been swung wider and written propaganda has been accorded free access to the university and students, it takes very little imagination to determine what disciplined, dedicated, organized, subversive group will be delighted to take advantage of the opportunity. If this is the only way that absolute freedom of speech and freedom of expression can be assured to the state university and its faculty and its students, we wonder how it is that there have been so many successful, well-oriented, unhampered graduates of this institution during the years of its existence when it functioned as a great educational institution and its facilities were not thrown open to this type of controversial and radical agitation. The contention that unless members of subversive groups are permitted to address students on the campus, and unless faculty members are allowed to accomplish the same thing on the university property, and unless any kind of subversive literature can be freely circulated, that freedom of speech and expression are being smothered, is to us merely an excuse to substitute license for freedom.

COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

What is a Front

At the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, one of the resolutions on Communist Party infiltration techniques read as follows:

"Master the united fronts! Mastery of the theory and practice of the united front policy is the key task before the whole party—before every organization, every member. The united front is the basic style and method of our mass work" *

Since the United Front is the medium through which the Communist Party is now operating, and since it is still unpopular, we are glad to report, for known members of the Communist Party to be employed in sensitive positions, it becomes indispensable that the Legislature and the public know exactly what the United Front policy is, and something about the history and operation of Communist front organizations in general, and the present network of Communist fronts in California. As we pointed out in our 1957 report, page 105 *et seq.*, the United Front was developed at the 7th World Congress of the Comintern at Moscow in 1935. Georgi Dimitrov, Secretary of the Comintern, explained to the assembled delegates the strategy of the United Front in the following language:

"Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the parties attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering

* *Political Affairs*, March 1960, "Resolutions from the 17th Convention, Communist Party of the United States, On Party Organization, page 65, page 67.

many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan Horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of a living wall of his cut-throats.

He who fails to understand the necessity of using such tactics in the case of fascism, he who regards such an approach as 'humiliating' may be a most excellent comrade, but if you will allow me to say so, he is a windbag and not a revolutionary, he will be unable to lead the masses to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship." *

This concept of the united or popular front originated with Dimitrov, and this crafty Bulgarian Communist, who headed the Comintern longer than any other of its officials, saw to it that the attending delegates received the necessary guidance to enable them to put his strategy into immediate action.

When the American delegates returned to their own country, they supervised the launching of the new United Front here. Carefully trained Communists were sent into innumerable mass organizations, the more liberal, the better. New front groups sprang into operation, designed to attract well-meaning but politically myopic celebrities, college professors, writers, actors, and professional people. At the same time the drive to foment trouble among the Negroes and to capture their organizations was redoubled. By 1948 myriads of Communist-controlled organizations existed in the United States and were feverishly active throughout the country in all phases of our life. We issued a special report in 1948 comprising 448 pages, all but approximately 20 pages of which having been devoted to a detailed exposure of these front organizations and a description of the characteristics and techniques of each. We discussed 172 of these organizations in considerable detail, and, of course, there is neither any practical purpose to be served or space available to repeat the material of the 1948 report—long out of print—here.

We do, however, wish to devote some space to the operation of Communist front organizations in California today, the techniques that are now being used by the Party in that regard, the success the Communists have achieved in reviving the United Front and particularly how liberal student political groups on the campuses of educational institutions, the membership of which is non-Communist but exceedingly liberal and vulnerable, can be unobtrusively manipulated into orientation with the Communist Party line and actually be made to serve as propaganda and recruiting media by the infiltration of a very tiny fraction of undercover Communist members.

History of the Communist Front

The front tactic was conceived by Lenin and implemented by Willi Muenzenberg. In 1902 Lenin advocated the use of this device, calling

* *The United Front: The Struggle Against War and Fascism*, by Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary, Communist International. Report to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, August 1935. International Publishers, Inc., N. Y., 1938, pages 52-53.

the non-Communist groups "transmission belts" through which the Party will was adroitly imposed upon the masses without their knowledge. Stalin carried on the idea, and in 1926 the Executive Committee of the Comintern encouraged the establishment of fronts throughout the world.

During the late thirties and early forties in this country the crop of fronts began to grow with great rapidity. Especially during the period of World War II, there were practically no groups with an avowed anti-Fascist purpose that escaped becoming in some manner the unwitting tools of Communist propaganda. Not all of them were necessarily under the direct control of the Communist Party, but we know of none that were immune to infiltration and we know of none whose activities were not controlled to some degree by the unknown Communist fractions functioning covertly in their midst.

Examples of international organizations that started as non-political and which were eventually brought under the Communist domination, were: the International Union of Students; the World Federation of Democratic Youth; the International Organization of Journalists and the International Radio and Television Organization, each subject to infiltration by determined Communists who swiftly gained control of the key positions, perpetuated themselves and their comrades in power, and manipulated these movements into place as international Communist fronts. The same thing was true of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

At present, the main international Communist fronts are as follows:

1. The World Peace Council;
2. The World Federation of Trade Unions;
3. The World Federation of Democratic Youth;
4. The International Union of Students;
5. The World Federation of Teachers Union;
6. The World Federation of Scientific Workers;
7. The International Medical Association;
8. Women's International Democratic Federation;
9. International Organization of Journalists;
10. The International Federation of Resistance Fighters;
11. International Radio and Television Organization.

There are one or two others, but we prefer to discuss them in a separate section that will follow, because of their peculiar significance to the California situation at the present time.

There has been little change in the basic character of the Communist front. It remains essentially what it was when conceived by Lenin in 1902: It is an adjunct of the formal Communist Party apparatus, and it serves both as a vehicle through which current Communist policy is made palatable to non-Communists, as a medium of recruiting and propagandizing, and as a pressure instrumentality to exert influence in opening wide the doors of our various institutions that would otherwise be closed and thus make them more vulnerable to Communist penetration.*

* "Communist Fronts: Their History and Function," by Robert H. Bass. *Problems of Communism*, Vol. IX, No. 5, p. 8 et. seq.

The first international front organization was known as International Workers Aid, founded in the 1920's by Muenzenberg. It originally functioned as a relief organization that collected and distributed money for food shipments to the Soviet Union, but was soon reoriented for the purpose of regimenting sympathizers and distributing propaganda. We have on numerous occasions in previous reports discussed in detail such potent international fronts as the Red International of Labor Unions, commonly referred to as the Profintern, the Young Communist International, and International Labor Defenses which functioned as the legal arm of the world Communist movement.

It was inevitable that as the activities of this multitude of Communist front organizations became more intense and more arrogant, and as their impact on the American way of life became more acute, they would be investigated and exposed by the various federal and state committees charged with the duty of reporting on domestic subversion. The Attorney General of the United States has issued lists of subversive front organizations and publications based on investigation by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This list made its first public appearance on September 24, 1942, and on February 5, 1943, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9300 citing as his authority therefor Title One of the First War Powers Act of 1941, and his authority as the chief executive of the United States. This order established, within the Department of Justice, a new inter-departmental committee on employee investigations, composed of 5 members appointed by the President from among the officers or employees of the "departments, independent establishments, and agencies of the federal government." This order was replaced by Executive Order 9835 under the Truman administration which instituted the so-called loyalty program. It established a Loyalty Review Board, and provided, in part, as follows:

"The Loyalty Review Board shall currently be furnished by the Department of Justice the name of each foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, which the Attorney General, after appropriate investigation and determination, designates as totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means. The Loyalty Review Board shall disseminate such information to all departments and agencies."

In December 1947, a list of 82 organizations, 35 of which were named for the first time, was made public by printing it in the Federal Register, and thereafter lists of these front organizations have been issued from time to time and thereby kept up to date.

Provision was made, of course, for organizations that objected to being so designated to appear before the Subversive Activities Control Board and present their objections, and they were accorded appeals to the appropriate federal courts for the purpose of having their status officially adjudicated.

By June 1956 15 organizations which had been on the list requested an opportunity to contest the allegation of Communist or other subversive control. Twelve of them failed to comply with procedural rules established by the Attorney General's office and were consequently denied the right of a hearing. Three others complied with the regulations and received a hearing; many of the originally-listed organizations are no longer in existence, and still others refused to comply with regulations preliminary to an adjudication and suffered themselves to be continued on the Attorney General's list as subversive fronts.*

It should be made clear that these listed organizations can be afforded hearings within the Department of Justice for the purpose of determining whether an organization should be included on the Attorney General's list, and this proceeding is entirely separate from and should not be confused with hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is an agency independent of the Department of Justice and which makes its determinations pursuant to the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Its hearing of the matter involving the status of the Communist Party of the United States has, for example, resulted in a transcript of 14,403 pages and 600 documentary exhibits and is now pending before the Appellate Courts. The Subversive Activities Control Board has decided twice that the Communist Party in this country is a subversive organization and should be compelled to list its members with the Department of Justice. The Party has succeeded in having the matter remanded once on directions from the United States Supreme Court, and is now expected to urge most strenuously that the entire matter is illegal because the law setting up the Subversive Activities Control Board is unconstitutional.

Uses of Lists of Alleged Subversive Persons and Organizations

The Attorney General's list was originally designed for confidential use by the heads of federal agencies and their personnel officers in connection with the government security program. It comprised a series of short summaries and concise information available to the Department of Justice concerning each listed organization, and the lists were, of course, designed to acquaint responsible people with the degree of danger that might arise from a prospective employee's affiliation with such organizations. In 1948 the list began to appear with considerable regularity in the *Federal Register* and thereby became officially a public instead of a confidential document. Furthermore, the practice was adopted at about the same time of showing the list to employees or applicants for their information and guidance in signing the required statements to the effect that they were not members of subversive organizations. The danger of public knowledge and use of the contents of such a list was emphasized by the Commission on Government Security as follows:

"The widespread public knowledge of the lists' contents may have served a useful purpose in putting citizens on notice of possible loss of employment from too active membership in one of the named organizations. However, its publication also gave it a certain character, in the public mind, of a judicial determination,

* Report of the Commission on Government Security, Pursuant to Public Law 304, 84th Congress, As Amended, June 1957, page 645 *et seq.*

which apparently it was not intended to have. The activities of the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is designed to make judicial determinations (with attendant safeguards) and require public registration of organizations and their members, may eventually replace this function of the Attorney General's list. The tremendous time and effort required for hearings before this board, together with possible necessity of disclosing confidential information or informants should be born in mind, however, in view of the fact that some 20,000 new employees are hired each month.

In some individual federal employee cases, it appears that those making loyalty or security determinations have interpreted the regulations under which they operated to require automatic dismissal of any person who claimed, or was found to have had, any affiliation with a named organization, or associated with the persons or person so affiliated. This, of course, distorts the list's purpose from that of merely supplying one factor to be investigated and to be born in mind in making decisions, to that of an automatic disqualifier."*

There is an unfortunate tendency by laymen to use any list of alleged subversive persons or organizations improperly. It is only natural that when Communist activities are intensified and made known to the public, there is a consequent reaction to protect our institutions against this sort of penetration, and an ensuing confusion of sincere liberals with Communists or members of other subversive organizations. In practically every report we have issued in the last 10 years we have made it very clear, and in as emphatic a manner as we could, our warning that a Communist front is an organization skillfully designed to entrap the unwary non-Communist. The ingenuity with which the Communist nature of these organizations is concealed from the scrutiny of its members is highly developed, and it is therefore little wonder that large numbers of individuals striving to improve the lot of society are attracted to such groups. Usually the group, in order to be effective as a front, must advance the Communist Party line. It urges the discrediting of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its director; it advocates the opening of all our institutions to Communist infiltrators under the guise of freedom of association and freedom of speech; it viciously attacks any organization seeking to investigate Communist activities; it is carefully coordinated with the international Communist movement to constantly further the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the advance of world Communism as it enslaves one country after another and solidifies its control by force. Thus if such an organization is active and seeks to accomplish its purposes, the true nature of the organization will soon become manifest to its non-Communist members and they usually drop out and exercise a good deal more precaution before they join another such movement. Others, however, prove susceptible to the Communist propaganda techniques and move from one front organization to another on a scale of ascending virulence, until they occupy positions of importance as offi-

* Report of Commission on Government Security, *op. cit.*, page 653.

cers or organizers or speakers in some of the most potent and obvious Communist-controlled organizations.

It is therefore necessary that these affiliations be regarded with the greatest of care. There is a wide range of differentiation between the various front organizations. Some are potent; others relatively innocuous—all are deadly in that they are adjuncts of the Communist apparatus itself.

During the last war the Communists launched an organization called the Anti-Nazi League. This organization was calculated to attract the Jews of our country, and it naturally did attract a great many of them who were aroused against the persecution of their people in Nazi Germany. Most of them soon discovered the real nature of this organization and quickly disaffiliated themselves from it in disgust, recognizing it as another brand of the very thing they were committed to oppose. A few remained in the organization, and it is a simple matter to trace their progress from it to others of a similar character, such as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, the Civil Rights Congress, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council.

In times of tension it is very tempting for some individuals who are inclined toward demagoguery to clutch at the most ephemeral and weak sort of evidence often comprising no more than a list of single Communist front affiliations on the part of teachers or others, wave it aloft, and claim that here is a group of Communists dedicated to the destruction of our country. This sort of rash sensationalism actually drives people into the Communist Party, and while we most assuredly believe that front organizations should be given the widest public exposure in order that people may be protected from stumbling into them unwittingly, it is foolhardy and despicable to brand a person as subversive merely because he has been unwittingly lured into a Communist front, or even several. The evaluation of Communist front affiliation must be made by experts who are carefully trained, who are objective, who are implacable foes of subversion, but who also are constantly aware of the possibility of smearing an innocent person or crying wolf so frequently when no wolf is near that when the real animal approaches nobody will pay any attention to the warning.

Before leaving the matter of the Attorney General's list, which is widely used by many school administrators and may be had for the asking by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., we believe a great service can be rendered by quoting from the recommendations made to the President, the Vice-President, and the Congress of the United States by the Commission on Government Security in its report already cited. On pages 96—101 of that report, the Commission recommended as follows:

"1. The Attorney General's list should be retained with the modifications enumerated below.

2. The standard for inclusion of organizations on the list should be as follows: Any party, group, or association which the Congress of the United States, or an agency or officer of the United States duly authorized by the Congress for that purpose, finds: a) seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by force or

violence, or other unconstitutional means; or b) is organized or utilized for the purpose of advancing the aims and objectives of the Communist movement; or c) is organized or utilized for the purpose of establishing any form of dictatorship in the United States or any form of international dictatorship or d) is organized or utilized by any foreign government, or by any foreign party, group, or association acting in the interest of such foreign government for the purpose of espionage, sabotage, or obtaining information relating to the defense of the United States or the protection of the national security, or hampering, hindering, or delaying the production of defense materials; or e) has adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States; or f) is affiliated with or acts in concert with, or is dominated or controlled by any party, groups, or association of the character described above in a, b, c, or d.

3. The designation of an organization should be accompanied by a statement showing: a) the date when the organization became of a character described above and the date when it ceased to be of such a character, if such cessation has occurred; b) a description of the origin, history, aims and purposes of such organization; c) if such an organization ceases to exist, it should be retained on the list, but with the date of its dissolution or other termination and relevant circumstances pertaining thereto.

4. No organization should be designated by the Attorney General unless prior thereto there has been a Federal Bureau of Investigation investigation of such organization."

The Commission also recommended that when the Attorney General received the investigative report from the F. B. I. and proposed to designate an organization as a subversive front, he should send a notice to that organization by registered mail setting forth the nature of the charges and notifying the organization of its right to file objections in a request for a hearing. The Commission further recommended the method of holding such hearings, the evidence that would be permitted on each side, and the right of appeal from the decisions to the courts of the land. In concluding its observations concerning the use of the Attorney General's list, the Commission observed:

"The mere fact that an employee or applicant for clearance is a member of an organization appearing on the Attorney General's list should not be interpreted as conclusive evidence of the employee's or applicant's unfitness for employment. The greatest care must be taken to avoid misinterpretation of affiliation. The affiliation should be viewed in the light of the member's knowledge of the purpose of the organization, or the extent to which such organizational purposes had been publicized at the time the individual joined the organization or retained membership therein. The character and history of an organization must be closely examined, with the realization that loyal persons, ignorant of its true purpose, may have been persuaded to join for innocent reasons. Hence, the need for a full-time hearing examiner who can become a student of the subject, and a central review board

to review the findings of membership and inferences drawn therefrom."*

In passing we wish to refer to a recently published book entitled *The Decline of American Communism* by David A. Shannon, Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1959, in which he discusses the shrinking of the Party, but in elaborating on the causes for its internal strife and the liquidation of many of its front organizations, the author gives little credit to the committees of state and federal legislatures that for years have been publishing accurate information concerning the nature of these Communist fronts, the names of their leaders, and proof concerning Communist control from concealed positions. This constant exposure has, of course, provided the public with information concerning the front apparatus, and the membership has been withering away and the sources of revenue have all but vanished. Despite the fact that Mr. Shannon, who inaccurately predicted the collapse of the American Communist Party, gives no credit to legislative committees, the Communist Party readily acknowledges their effectiveness. Thus, Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the *Daily Worker*, long a Communist functionary of highest stature, wrote in *Political Affairs* last November that "... weaknesses or shortcomings within our Party are due to the cold war, anti-Communist policies of both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, accompanied by the McCarthy-Eastland-McClellan witch hunts. . . ."†

Before we undertake to describe the fronts that are now active in our state, it is necessary to point out that some of the groups are actually conceived and started by the Communist Party itself, while others are existing liberal organizations peculiarly suited to Communist infiltration and are therefore penetrated by undercover Party members who then seek to capture the official positions that will best serve their purposes and eventually control the entire non-Communist membership of the group. Still other organizations of a progressive nature are used as "transmission belts," to use Lenin's language, and are more valuable to the propaganda purposes of the Party in their original condition than they would be if penetrated and actually controlled by Communist Party members. These organizations are so liberal to begin with that they are simply utilized as convenient media through which Communist propaganda may be passed along to the broad masses of the people. We shall discuss each type of Communist front organization, together with those that have been used as "transmission belts," a little later.

In dealing with Communist front organizations in general, extreme caution must always be exercised to distinguish between a genuinely liberal organization which espouses an unpopular idea or purpose, or that happens to advocate the same things that are also advocated by Communist fronts in conformity with the current Party line. For example, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is actually an older organization than the Communist Party of the United States. The indoctrination and recruiting of Negroes into the Communist Party has always been one of the principal parts of the Party program. Thousands upon thousands of pamphlets and

* Report of the Commission on Government Security, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

† "On the Party's History," by Clarence Hathaway, *Political Affairs*, November 1960, p. 54.

leaflets and all manner of propaganda have been issued, and books have been written and resolutions have been passed by the National Committee of the Communist Party urging the membership to accelerate its efforts to indoctrinate and recruit the Negro minority. Firmly and consistently the N. A. A. C. P. has resisted this effort, and despite the fact that it is regarded in the deep south as a Communist controlled organization, it actually is just the opposite. It advocates complete integration of colored people with whites; it seeks to implement the effectiveness of the Supreme Court decision; it seeks to provide adequate and equal educational facilities for the Negro people and to give them full rights as citizens of the United States and members of the community. These are sincere objectives on the part of the Negro citizens, but they are also advocated by the Communist Party as a part of its propaganda machinery. Officers and members of the N.A.A.C.P. have been alert to distinguish between the hypocritical attitude of the Communist Party and real efforts to combat discrimination against the colored people. In an earlier report we reproduced the testimony of Franklin Williams and Assemblyman Byron Rumford, whose loyalty is certainly not open to the slightest question, and each of them stated under oath and in great detail the history of the N.A.A.C.P. and its staunch opposition to Communist attempts at infiltration. Other organizations that have not been so successful in resisting the blandishments of the Communists are the National Negro Labor Council and the National Negro Congress, each of which has been infiltrated by the Party until in many locations there is no question about the chapters being nothing more than Communist front organizations, under the control of the Communist apparatus itself. The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in his communications with the Loyalty Review Board released on December 4, 1947, and September 27, 1948, and by Attorney General Francis Biddle on September 24, 1942. The official statement concerning this organization issued by the Attorney General and predicated on intensive investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, declared that A. Phillip Randolph, president of the National Negro Congress since its inception in 1936, had refused to run again in April 1940 "on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'

"Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow-travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress . . . according to A. Phillip Randolph, and John P. Davis, Secretary of the Congress . . . the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist vice-presidential candidate elected to the Executive Committee in 1937, described as: 'An important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party.*' "

* Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688.

An example of an organization, liberal in nature and non-conformist in objective, that has been unjustly accused of being a Communist front organization is the United World Federalists. We have previously pointed out how a Northern California school teacher was accused of being subversive because of her membership in the United World Federalists, described by a radio commentator in San Francisco as a Communist controlled group, and who thereafter brought an action against the commentator because of injuries to her reputation and her professional status. A representative from this Committee appeared in the Superior Court in San Francisco and testified that although the organization advocated a world government in which the sovereignty of the United States would be absorbed, and although the organization was extremely liberal in character, the Committee had never cited it as a front organization, and had found no evidence of Communist infiltration to the point that the group became controlled by the Communist Party.

Other organizations that fall generally within this category of extremely liberal groups that have unjustly been accused of being Communist controlled are the Society of Friends, the Fellowship for Reconciliation, the American Friends Service Committee, and Americans for Democratic Action. There are others, all belonging in this same general category, each espousing objectives that are extremely liberal, some of the purposes of some of these organizations occasionally running along in complete conformity with current Communist Party objectives, and ranging all the way from advocating a one-world government to complete pacifism and immediate and total unilateral disarmament. Some of these organizations are regarded by very conservative individuals or groups as subversive, but this is an easy and dangerous term for laymen to bandy about in times of tension.

We have also stated on previous occasions that an organization may be simon-pure one year and subjected to a massive infiltration effort that renders it a captive of the Communist Party in the space of a few months, so that by the ensuing year it changes its status from a liberal organization to a Communist front. Any local chapter of any liberal organization is constantly threatened with infiltration, but, as we will see in the section of the report devoted to the American Civil Liberties Union, there are methods by which such an infiltration can be prevented if the organization takes the trouble to establish and implement the preventative machinery.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

The Committee has recently received several inquiries about the above-named organization and for that reason is giving a short history of the movement in this report. It is illustrative of the type of organization we have just mentioned, which was organized as a simple, liberal movement, and which quickly attracted the attention of Communists and was subjected to considerable infiltrative efforts in certain parts of the country. We wish to point out here that we have never mentioned the organization as being subversive or as a front organization, but we shall explain in a moment how, in some localities, infiltration achieved critical proportions.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was founded at The Hague by the late Jane Addams of Hull House in 1915. International headquarters is now located at Geneva, Switzerland, and there are many chapters both in this country and abroad. Essentially interested in bringing about total disarmament, a world government and permanent peace, the movement immediately attracted a wide variety of liberals: pacifists, conscientious objectors, do-gooders, radicals, and a firm base membership of very sincere and dedicated liberals. Jane Addams was a social worker who spent most of her time at Hull House in Chicago. She was in no sense subversive, although she did attract Communists to her crusade, who, as is always the case, were more interested in furthering the class struggle than alleviating it. Any organization of a liberal character that is interested in achieving results that are in coincidental conformity with the Communist line is a natural target for infiltration. So it has been with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. There are many other similar groups, aimed in the same direction, some of which have already been mentioned. The objectives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom thus being in conformity with the international Party line, some infiltration was inevitable. On a national scale it has not been sufficiently acute to warrant characterizing the organization as a Communist front or Communist-dominated. In California, and some other localities, however, the invasion has been far more serious. Chapters of the movement were situated in Oakland, Berkeley, San Francisco, Hollywood, and Los Angeles. All have been active at one time or another, in cooperating with known Communist front organizations.

Among the leaders of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in California have been Helen Marston Beardsley, Gertrude Bauer, Dorothy Detzer, Lillian Goodman, Bertha Monroe, Emma Arnstein, and Minnie Carter. Lillian Goodman, who led the local organization both in Los Angeles and San Francisco, has a police record of arrests for Communist agitation dating back to the thirties. She headed the International Labor Defense Office in Chicago in 1936. This was simply a division of the Comintern devoted to providing legal assistance to Communists who became involved in difficulties with the law. In Party circles it was known by the initials M.O.P.R.—Russian abbreviation for International Red Aid. In December 1936, Mrs. Goodman came to Los Angeles where she took charge of district fourteen of International Labor Defense, comprising 32 subordinate branches. At that time, Leo Gallagher and Grover Johnson were attorneys for the organization. In August 1937 a meeting was held at Channing Hall, Los Angeles, under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Featured speakers were Leo Gallagher, A. L. Wirin, and a German Communist named Martin Hall. Mrs. Goodman moved to San Francisco in 1937 where she became president of the organization's chapter in that city. She has been a dedicated member of the Communist Party at least since 1934.

The official publication of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is *Four Lights*. An examination of the issue for March 1948 discloses that a list of books recommended for reading was set forth, about half being pro-Communist and the other half anti-

Communist. In the first category were *Mission to Moscow* by Joseph E. Davies; *Soviet Politics* by Frederick L. Schuman; *People of the Soviet Union* by Corliss Lamont. In the second category were: *I Chose Freedom* by Victor Kravchenko; *The Strange Alliance* by General John R. Deane; *Russia's Iron Age* by William R. Chamberlain. These anti-Communist books would never be allowed to be recommended in any publication of a national organization such as W.I.L. if it were Communist controlled.

In summary, one can say with assurance that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in California was heavily infiltrated and at one time perhaps dominated, by the Communist Party. There is some Communist infiltration of the movement on a national scale, but not sufficiently to warrant characterizing the organization as a Communist front or under Communist domination. It has not been listed as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States or any other federal or state agency to our knowledge.

San Francisco Little Summit Conference

On May 13 and 14, 1960, several organizations combined to sponsor a Little Summit Conference which was held at San Francisco State College Extension Center, 540 Powell Street. The circular describing this affair stated that on the thirteenth there would be seminars on disarmament and the German question and that they would be continued throughout the morning of the fourteenth. At one-thirty P.M. these seminars were to adjourn and there would be a mass assembly convoked at San Francisco Opera House, Van Ness Avenue and Grove Streets, "... to receive instructions, posters, and literature. . . ."*

We assume that the fact that the affair was held almost contemporaneously with the hearings in San Francisco by the House Committee on Un-American Activities was entirely coincidental. At any rate, it is quite clear that the Little Summit Conference would bring to San Francisco a large number of people who were to stage a mass meeting at the very place where the demonstration occurred against the House Committee's hearings; San Francisco Opera House being at the Civic Center where the hearings were held. After the meeting at the Opera House there was to be a walk by the participants of the Little Summit Conference to Union Square where speeches were to be given and literature distributed. Organizations that combined to sponsor the demonstration and the seminars were: American Friends Service Committee, Northern California Regional Office; Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy, Marin County Chapter; Fellowship of Reconciliation, San Francisco Chapter; Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, San Francisco and Contra Costa County Chapters; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; World Affairs Committee of the International-Interracial Commission. Individual sponsors were: Mary Louise Allen, President, California Federation of Young Democrats; Beniamino Bufano, artist; Reverend Pierre Delattre, Congregational Minister, San Francisco; Mrs. Alfred Fisk, civic leader; Terry Francoise, President, N.A.A.C.P., San Francisco Chapter; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher, *The Sun-Reporter*; Georgia Harkness, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley; Henry Schmidt, president, Inter-

* Brochure, San Francisco Little Summit Conference Program.

national Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Northern California District Council; Dr. Fred Stripp, minister, South Berkeley Community Congregational Church; Rabbi Saul White, San Francisco; Dr. Arno O. Weniger, Hamilton Square Baptist Church, San Francisco. We do not list these individuals for the purpose of inferring or implying in any way that they or any of them are subversive, nor have we ever listed any of the sponsoring organizations as Communist fronts or subversive. What we do wish to indicate is that while some of the sponsoring organizations were clearly anti-Communist, others were infiltrated to some extent, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and some of the individual sponsors had fellow-traveling records sufficiently impressive to indicate that they would not be adverse to nudging the conference in the general direction of the current Communist Party line. Dr. Carlton Goodlett, for example, taught a course in the Communist School in San Francisco during the spring term of 1945 with such other members of the faculty as Archie Green, Hazel Grossman, David Jenkins, Paul Pinskey, Holland Roberts, Celeste Strack, Helen Wheeler, and Jules Carson; he was also a member of the faculty two years later with such colleagues as Holland Roberts, David Jenkins, Hazel Grossman, Celeste Strack, Al Richmond, Jules Carson, and Paul Pinskey. He was also a sponsor and contributor to the Sidney Roger Radio Fund with the late Dr. Thomas Addis, Holland Roberts, and Professor Frank Weymouth. He was also a sponsor of the Young Communist organization known as American Youth for Democracy, with the late Dr. Thomas Addis, Holland Roberts, Professor Frank Weymouth, Hugh Bryson, Philip M. Connelly, Ruby Heide, the late Dr. Alexander Kaun, John Howard Lawson, Steve Murdock, Paul Schnur, Mervin Rathborne, and Anita Whitney.

Henry Schmidt had been a sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization with the late Dr. Thomas Addis, Professor Frank Weymouth, Louise Bransten, Philip M. Connelly, Bella V. Dodd, Marcel Scherer, Langston Hughes, Mervin Rathborne, Morris Carnovsky, Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Carey McWilliams Senior, and John Howard Lawson. He was also a member of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee with the late Dr. Thomas Addis, Morris Carnovsky, Professor Ralph Gundlach, John Howard Lawson, Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Paul Robeson, Ella Winter, and Philip M. Connelly. He was a member of the Citizens Committee to save Earl Browder, when the latter was chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, and other sponsors included the late Dr. Thomas Addis, Philip M. Connelly, Max Bedacht, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Albert Maltz, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams Senior, Leo Gallagher, Mervin Rathborne, Paul Pinskey and Paul Heide. He was also a sponsor of International Labor Defense; the other sponsors included Max Bedacht, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, William Z. Foster, Harrison George, Paul Crouch, Leo Gallagher, Langston Hughes, Harry Bridges, John Howard Lawson, and Marcel Scherer. Mr. Schmidt has also been identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party of California, as have John Howard Lawson, Max Bedacht, Paul Crouch, Harrison George, Leo Gallagher, Mervin Rathborne, Paul Heide, Paul Pinskey, Albert Maltz, Philip M. Connelly, Ella

Winter, Anita Whitney, Steve Murdock, Hugh Bryson, Helen Roberts, Celeste Strack, Al Richmond, Hazel Grossman, and Jules Carson. It is to be noted that the California Labor School, the Communist school in San Francisco heretofore referred to, the Sidney Roger Radio Fund, American Youth for Democracy, the American Peace Mobilization, the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, the Citizens Committee to save Earl Browder, and International Labor Defense, have all been liquidated, some of them replaced by other front organizations, all of them set forth for the purpose of showing how the same individuals with records of participation in Communist front organizations or the Communist Party itself, moved from one Communist controlled organization to another over a considerable period of time. We should also add that we have no evidence that Dr. Carlton Goodlett or Mr. Henry Schmidt have ever repudiated Communism, any of the front organizations to which they have been affiliated, or have in any way deviated from the Communist Party line in all its contortions and inconsistencies.

The purpose of the Little Summit Conference at San Francisco was to arouse popular support for the Big Summit Conference at Paris, which was scheduled to open on May 16, and which was abruptly torpedoed by Mr. Khrushchev. This group of very liberal organizations, assembled for the purpose of discussing peaceful co-existence, the German problem, and other matters of international concern, was a natural object for Communist penetration. The political characteristics of each of the sponsoring organizations was such that their members certainly were no supporters of the House Committee, had manifested little hesitation about collaborating with Communist fronts on other occasions, and had shown little concern about Communist activities in this country.

We mention this meeting because it affords an example of the sort of affair that is open to infiltration, and also because it concentrated large numbers of people at the exact place where the House Committee was holding hearings at the exact time of the mass demonstrations against it.

Mr. Khrushchev's unexpected performance in Paris effectively dissipated the purpose of the Little Summit Conference, two days after it had adjourned its San Francisco meetings and marches. Instead of peaceful co-existence, we were abruptly plunged back into the cold war, and instead of any amplification of the program discussed at San Francisco, it was quietly abandoned.

Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-born

One of the oldest and most active Communist front organizations in California is the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. Its main offices are situated at 326 West Third Street, Room 318, Los Angeles 13, California, and its officers are as follows: Honorary Chairman, Right Reverend Walter Mitchel; Honorary Co-Chairmen, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, Honorable Robert W. Kenny, Mrs. Dorothy N. Marshall, Judge Stanley Moffatt; Executive Director, Rose Chernin; Treasurer, John Uhrin; Research Director, Anna L. Stolle; Public Relations Director, Frank S. Lopez; Sponsors, Jacob Aspiz, Jack Berman, Martin Borad, M.D.,

Eliseo Carrillo, Jr., Betty Chesley, Belle Parsons Clewe, John F. Clewe, Rabbi Franklin Cohn, Morton Diamondstein, Sarah Dornier, Charles Gladstone, Howard Goddard, Sanford Goldner, Morris Goodman, Wilbur Z. Gordon, M.D., Irwin Gostin, Marvin Grayson, Marian E. Herrick, Sakae Ishihara, Grover Johnson, John Howard Lawson, George K. Lee, Mary Legum, Rev. Hezekiah Lewis, Paul Major, Professor George B. Mangold, Rev. W. Archie Matson, Arnold Nesches, Elsa Peters Morse, Rev. John H. Owens, Professor Linus Pauling, Rev. T. G. Pledger, Charles I. Rosin, Aaron Rothblatt, Norman E. Sayon, Rev. Harold E. Schmidt, Mauricio Terrazas, Rito G. Valencia, Professor Frank W. Weymouth, Frank Wilkinson.

This list, as of 1961, comprises several individuals whose names have received considerable attention from us in previous reports and whose records may be checked, so far as their front affiliations are concerned, in the cumulative index which is set forth as a part of the current report.

The Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born is the local unit of the American Committee which was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in his letter to the Loyalty Review Board released on June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948. Like many other Communist fronts, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born is descended from a long line of predecessors. Being principally engaged in giving legal protection to Communists of foreign descent, this organization is simply another name for International Labor Defense. And thus when a Communist or a Communist sympathizer reads, in a report like this, that some ardent fellow traveler was associated with International Labor Defense 20 years ago and is now a sponsor of the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, he is inclined to say that the first front affiliation is really insignificant because a man is entitled to make a mistake 20 years ago, and if there was no intervening record of affiliation or activity, his sponsorship or participation in the activities of the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born many years later is nothing more than a manifestation of his humanitarian motives in wishing to do something for underprivileged progressives. To meet this argument, it is necessary to know something about the genealogy of all front organizations, and to realize that as the Labor Youth League was simply another name for American Youth for Democracy, and that as American Youth for Democracy was another name for the Young Communist League—so it is important to know that International Red Aid changed its name to International Labor Defense, the latter changed its name to the Civil Rights Congress, and the Civil Rights Congress changed its name to the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. As a matter of fact, this latter organization is simply the legal division of the International Communist apparatus, and that is precisely what it has been since the Comintern established International Red Aid to stretch its tentacles from Moscow all over the world for the purpose of furthering the cause of global Communist domination.

When we investigated the infiltration of the Los Angeles County Medical Association by Communists, we described a great many Communist front organizations, and especially the medical division of the

Arts and Sciences Professions Council. In those days it was customary for Communist fronts to meet at Parkview Manor in Los Angeles, and this also is true of the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. Meetings of the entire organization are, of course, held in larger facilities, but the leaders and officers of this and other front organizations still habitually meet at the Parkview Manor for an interchange of information on their way from the offices of the various front organizations, and after some of the large meetings have terminated.

As of 1959-1960, the list of foreign born persons facing parole or deportation from the United States for criminal or subversive activities, and who were represented by the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born were: Kay Andekian, Lars and Sabina Berg, Ethel Bertolini, Joseph Boross, Harry Carlisle, Philip Cherner, Nicolas Comar, Justo Cruz, Mike Daniels, Arthur Dmytryk, Aaron Feinberg, Fred Firestone, Nina Firestone, Blanche and David Fradkin, Celia Fox, Bart Galalian, Jose M. Gastelum, Clara Gelman, Samuel Golland, Bertha Goloff, Emma and Werner Grondahl, Aaron Grossberg, Alex Hedge-Smith, Ruby M. Hynes, David Hyun, Mile Jovetich, Martin Kaplunoff, Sara Karson, Diamond Kimm, John Kobler, Paul S. Kochi, Charles Kotanjian, Max Kramer, Emilie E. Lopez, Adolph Larson, Joseph Lubey, Domingo T. Martinez, Pedros Masoian, Esther Mavros, Harry and Amalia Minasian, Bertha Michaelson, Edo Nita, Joseph Modotti, Jose E. Morales-Vaiza, Anna Negin, Michael Ortiz, Jack Perowitz, Samuel Rabkin, Jose M. Ramirez, Abe Roast, Lena Rosen, Raye Rubin, Tomas Estrada Salazar, William Sands, Jennie Saslovsky, Esther Sazar, Chaim Schwartz, Jack Shaffer, Jennie Simon, Miriam Simons, Frank Spector, Rose Spector, Alice Tucker, Peter Chaunt, Ben Cruz, and Sam Title, the latter three being faced with loss of their American citizenship status.

In the 1959 publication of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, several pages were financed by a variety of politically radical minority groups that were listed on page 24 of the booklet as Hungarian, Japanese, Mexican and Armenian. We have described the International Workers Order in previous reports as a huge front that operated on a national scale and attracted racial minority groups. When this organization was exposed and its subversive nature established through legal proceedings in New York, it dissolved and liquidated its assets. Having been exceptionally powerful in California, its former minority group membership was largely shifted to the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

Greetings to the Los Angeles Committee were sent from The Hungarian Women's Circle and the Hungarian Workmen's Home Society, both located at 1251 South St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles 19, together with individual members of each of these Hungarian groups as follows: Gizi Berkowitz, Anna Bartha, Elvie Chaunt, Peter Chaunt, Helen Deutsch, Rose Fabian, Margaret Fargo, Sigmund Fargo, Emery Fuzy, S. Gyorfy, Frank Jehn, K. Kovesy, Rose Kiss, Thomas Kun, Frank Latzko, Joe Mikita, Anna Minarick, Emilia Packer, Bela Paszthy, Therisia Prince, Elsie Sheiber, Frank Schuch, Anna Spire, Mr. and Mrs. Szanyi, Margaret Szabo, John Uhrin, Mathilda Zala.

Others who conveyed individual greetings that were printed in the booklet were: Rev. Walter Mitchell, Charles and Raye Rubin, Fania

Bernstein, Helen Costello, Gita Schafer, Max Hittleman, Mr. and Mrs. Simon Lazarus, Mary Saks, Louis Shepetneff, Vera Weeks, Clara Pearlberg, Bennie Green, Zalman der Shuster, Edward Sinclair, Sam and Caroline Donowitz, Ethel Saval, Lazar and Sema Gurevitch, Marie Moresca, Harry Tanner, David Schack, Charles Katajian, Jane Coleman, Rev. T. G. Pledger, Bob and Miriam Horenian, Esther Pastoff, Jessie Schield, Dora Miles, Herbert Baun, Gene Hirsch, Sam Biser, Sam and Rose Elfman, Sonia Levine, Dora Dobrow, Reubin and Madeline Burroughs, Julius and Florence Kogan, Irving Ginsberg, Max and Mina Paller, Anselom and Nina Hammer, Sam Golland, Rose Rosenfeld, Morris and Ethel Linn, Dorothy Marshall, Lou Evanson, Dr. R. Z. Franklin, Bertha Goloff, Michael and Sarah Wasserman, Samuel and Eva Franzblau, Max Schlafter, Harry and Sonia Bronfman, Philip and Jennie Saslowsky, Mack and Jane Boyd, Joseph Korn, Bessie White, Anna Evanson, Celia Fox, Fannia Rosenthal, George Kitagawa, Anna Dusol, Jack and Dora Miller, Max Gross, Martha Kaplowitz, Harry and Celia Bergman, Murray and Eleanor Wagner, Anna Schrank, Dora Adler, Clara Gelman, Bessie Hirsh, Ruby Hynes, Anna Rackow, Ben Rothman, Sam Suisman, Judhe E. P. Totten, David Primrock, Pearl Fegelson.

Morris and Anna Kominsky also sent greetings, and we shall have more to say about the activities and affiliations of Mr. Kominsky in the section dealing with problems in the City of Elsinore. Others who sent congratulations to this Communist front and who have been mentioned in our previous reports were Rev. Stephen Fritchman, David Hyun, Max Hittleman and Pauline P. Schindler.

The following organizations also sent greetings: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 26; Fishermen's Local No. 33, San Pedro; Yugoslavian Friends, San Pedro; California Legislative Group; Emma Lazarus Women's Clubs; Greater Community Baptist Church, 11066 Norris Avenue, Pacoima; Jewish-American Cultural Club, Los Angeles; Hollywood YCUF Club; Midtown Jewish Culture Club; I. L. Peretz Reading Circle; Bay Cities Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born; Northern California Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born; City Terrace Community Cultural Club; Progressive Book Shop, 1806 West Seventh street, Los Angeles; Valley Jewish Social and Cultural Club; West Adams Cultural Club; Russian Ukrainian Cultural Group; Eastside Culture Club; Hollywood Culture Club; Progressive Women's Educational Club.

The message from the two Hungarian groups at 1251 South St. Andrews Place was entitled "Magyar Greetings to Mexicans," and read, in part, as follows:

"We greet with heartfelt understanding your valiant effort to call the attention of the world to your intolerable lot in our nation's life. We pledge our sincere efforts to stand by you in all walks of life to attain your just demand: Full equality in our national existence. The Hungarian community calls for further public support of the defense of two Los Angeles victims of the Walter-McCarran Act: Peter Chaunt, whose citizenship is now being defended in the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States; Joseph Boros, deportee, a resident of the United States for fifty years."

Nothing is mentioned about the Soviet oppression of the Hungarian people, despite the fact that Soviet machine guns mowed down thousands of them when they sought to throw off the yoke of their Communist conquerors in 1956. In presuming to speak for the Hungarian community, the members of these groups at 1251 South St. Andrews Place were certainly not expressing the sentiments of their countrymen who managed to escape from Soviet domination and who have a different feeling toward the United States, which accepted them and offered them a refuge from persecution and an opportunity to live in freedom. But these anti-Communist Hungarians did not come here for the purpose of joining Communist fronts and subverting us through covert infiltration and propaganda techniques calculated to soften us for the same sort of Soviet domination that exists in Hungary and the other satellite countries.

Rose Chernin, who has been the director of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born for many years, has been repeatedly identified as a member of the Communist Party. So has Dr. Sanford Goldner, who handles much of the propaganda intended to lure Jews into the organization. This is an example of the vicious type of writing Dr. Goldner published on page 21 of the booklet from which we have been quoting:

"The Walter-McCarran Law touches the heart of the historic experience of the Jewish people. It is the latest of a series of laws that, while aimed at many national groups, operated against the Jewish people at a time when they most needed succor. Hundreds of thousands died in Hitler's gas chambers who might, in an earlier time, have found freedom on our shores."

Rose Chernin, on page 6 of the booklet, explained how the United States Supreme Court was persuaded to change its attitude toward the foreign born. She declared:

". . . These decisions are a first step in the direction of establishing democratic standards in the exercise of deportation laws of this country. It should be stressed that they do not come as accidents. They were the results of many years of concentrated effort by the L. A. Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, and similar committees in other cities and good people supporting them."

At the same time that this front organization spreads class bitterness, and capitalizes on the emotions of racial minority groups, it assiduously follows the general Party line of creating disrespect and contempt toward our official agencies and their representatives. On the inside front cover of this 52-page booklet is this statement: "Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service are using all kinds of tricks and threats to deprive noncitizens, naturalized citizens and even native-born citizens of their rights."

Californians who have been affiliated with the National Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born include: Morris Carnovsky, Carey McWilliams Sr., Muriel Draper, Langston Hughes, Guy Endore, Rev. Stephen Fritchman and Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

We have heretofore referred to this organization not only in previous reports but in this report in conjunction with the attack on the F.B.I. which appeared in *The Nation*. It will be remembered that Mrs. Charles G. Kerstein is active in the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and her husband is also one of the publishers of this magazine edited by Carey McWilliams, Sr. Headquarters for the national office of this front to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities is situated at 421-7th Avenue, New York 1, New York. The national chairman is Harvey O'Conner; vice-chairman Corliss Lamont; director Clark Foreman; Southern California executive committee includes: Benjamin Dreyfus, Lorent B. Frantz, Stephen H. Fritchman, Robert W. Kenny, Ignatio L. Lopez, Dorothy Marshall, and Frank Wilkinson. The Southern California office is situated at 4274 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles 4. The organization disseminates a great deal of propaganda material on a nationwide basis, but concentrates its activities in New York and Southern California with occasional pressure groups in Washington, D.C.

National Lawyers Guild

Since our last report is still in print and since this Communist front organization is described therein at length, we cite our readers who are interested in learning more about this particular organization to our 1959 report at pages 20, 126-135, 137, 144, 197. It is still extremely active throughout the United States, and has powerful chapters in virtually all of the large cities in California. Since this organization has long been characterized as Communist-dominated by this Committee and other official agencies, and since it has been cited before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington, D.C., virtually all of the members who were attracted to the organization because they believed it was a completely independent liberal organization of attorneys filling a need for a group more liberal than the American Bar Association, quickly withdrew when they discovered the true nature of the control of the National Lawyers Guild leaving a membership of individuals who either didn't care if it were known they were persisting in their membership with a Communist front organization, or whose records of ideological conviction would naturally impel them to gravitate toward such an organization.

Fair Play Committee For Cuba

This organization was formed in April 1960, obviously for the purpose of spreading propaganda for the Castro revolution and its Communist affiliates. Units of the organization are active on many university campuses throughout the United States, although in California they seem to have been sporadic in character, springing into activity to participate in a march or demonstration with other organizations, then dropping out of notice again until the next opportunity presents itself. Despite the testimony of Dr. C. A. Santos-Buch that the organization received its finances directly from the Castro government, there is a scattering of do-gooders who decorate the fringe of this Communist front and echo the Party line contention that the Castro revolution was

actually caused by American Imperialism, the exploitation of the Cuban people by American big business. This line is a typical piece of clever Communist manipulation that is calculated to make us look like the villain and the "democratic people's government" appear as the hero in the international drama.

In December of last year this Fair Play Committee for Cuba sponsored a 10-day tour to Havana and other points of interest in Cuba for the astonishing price of \$100 for each visitor. The invitations were issued with considerable care and eight students at the University of Wisconsin made the trip, including Arnold Lockshin, 1244 Wellesley Road, Richmond, California. We do not imply that Mr. Lockshin or any of the students were Communists or Communists sympathizers. Indeed, some were critical of the Castro regime. Thus, Miss Brenda Warner Rotzoll wrote:

"... As a citizen in what is still by any standard we know, the freest nation on earth. I did not like what I saw of the Cuban government. In Cuba the government control is absolute. Foreign-run business has practically ceased to exist. Everywhere you go there are 'nationalization' signs on business establishments. The meaning of the signs is roughly this: 'This business has been taken over by the Revolution for the greater glory of Cuba.' Reads almost like an obituary."

She quoted one member of the group as declaring:

"Of course the Cuban government is totalitarian. Of course it's a dictatorship! But I like it."

He was Dr. Samuel Shapiro, Assistant Professor of History at Michigan State University, who was mentor for the students.*

American Russian Institute

This organization was founded in 1926 and, like the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, is one of the oldest Communist front organizations still operating in this country. Several years ago the main offices in this state were situated at 101 Post Street, San Francisco, and at 6618½ Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles. A few years ago the Los Angeles chapter moved its headquarters to Melrose Avenue and the San Francisco institute to 90 McAllister Street. In Los Angeles the institute is dormant, but in San Francisco it still flourishes under the expert administration of Holland Roberts and Rose Isaac, who have guided its activities in the Northern California city for many years. Mr. Roberts, indeed, after leaving his position as an associate professor of education at Stanford University, and assuming his duties as head of the Communist school in San Francisco, was director both of the school and of the American Russian Institute until the school was exposed as a part of the Communist apparatus and withered away for lack of a student body and adequate funds. The American Russian Institute, however, persists.

Like many of the earlier fronts in the United States the American Russian Institute has consistently carried on a propaganda campaign for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Other fronts that have performed the same service are Friends of Soviet Russia, Friends of the Soviet

* *Counter Attack*, Vol. XV, No. 6, March 17, 1961.

Union, The American Council on Soviet Relations, and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The semi-official status of the American Russian Institute is established by the fact that "... it aims to serve as an authoritative clearing house for factual information concerning the Soviet Union."^{*} The A.R.I. also furnishes reports to the U.S.S.R. about this country, such an exchange necessitating a permanent contact with official sources in Russia.

Prominent among those who have participated in A.R.I. activities, and whose records have been described in many of our previous reports are: Mrs. Belle Dubnoff, Holland L. Roberts, Alvah Bessie, Judge Stanley Moffatt, Sanford Goldner, John Howard Lawson, Professor Harry Hoijer, Dr. Jack Agins, Professor Franklin Fearing, Dorothea and George Eltenton, Thomas L. Harris, Albert Maltz, Edward Dmytryk, Morris Carnovsky, Robert Rosen, John T. McTernan, Katherine McTernan, Frances R. Eisenberg, Priscilla Esterman, Susan Hardyman, Sidney Roger, Haakon Chevalier, Henry Meyers, and Rose Isaac.

Several years ago the American Russian Institute and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship issued what they termed "kits of teaching materials on the Soviet Union," for use in our public schools as supplementary reading sources. Since these kits included many items that are still in use, we quote the titles of the sources as follows: Soviet Communism; The Truth about Russia; The Russians; Soviet Power; The Secret of Soviet Strength; Mother Russia; The U.S.S.R.; Russia is No Riddle; The Women of Soviet Russia; Changing Man; The Educational System of the U.S.S.R.; Soviet Economy and the War; Soviet Spirit; Socialized Medicine; Twentieth Century Philosophy; Seven Soviet Plans; I Saw the Russian People; The Great Conspiracy Against Russia; Religion and the U.S.S.R.; Lenin; That Boy Nikolka; Russia's Story; The People of Russia; A Short History of Russia; The War of Liberation; Leninism; History of the Communist Party of Russia; The Baltic Riddle; Maxim Litvinoff; Against Aggression; New Poland; The Red Army; The Last Days of Sevastopol; Twelve Months that Changed the World; An Outline of Russian Literature; Land of the Soviets; Russia's New Primer; Heroes of the War; Young America looks at Russia; Building America.[†] Investigations were undertaken by the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Committee on Education, and a report was made by the latter that the Building America Series was replete with Communist propaganda. Despite an attempt to ridicule the documented report out of existence on the part of the ultra-liberal element in the teaching profession, use of the books as supplementary sources in the California schools was discontinued. In fairness, it should be made plain that the publisher of the Building America series was in no sense subversive, but recalled these books, and reissued them after removing their propaganda content.

The constant liaison maintained between the various chapters of the American Russian Institute, the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC and the various Soviet vice-Consulates scattered throughout the country adds to the semi-official character of this particular Communist front organization, and in some measure explains its persistent and contin-

^{*} *American Review on the Soviet Union*, August 1941.

[†] The Building America series was actually introduced into the public schools of California as supplemental reading several years ago.

uous operation since its establishment in 1926, while most of the other large Communist fronts have perished for lack of support. Much the same thing is true of the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, as it exists for the purpose of flying to the legal assistance of foreign born Communists whose subversive affiliations and activities have made it necessary for our Government to protect itself by sending them back where they came from. An examination of the cases handled by the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born shows that it is primarily concerned with those persons of foreign birth who show a peculiar affinity for subversive activities and a particular talent for exercising their revolutionary capacities here. The very nature of this work places the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born in constant contact with Communists from all parts of the world, just as the Soviet contacts of the American Russian Institute places it in constant contact with sources of Communist propaganda material, which it disseminates under the guise of bringing to the people of the United States a cultural awareness of what is transpiring in Red Russia. Of course, it should be perfectly obvious even to the most credulous admirer of things Soviet, that when the American Russian Institute commences to issue materials that are critical of the Soviet Union, only then may some doubt arise about its status as a Communist front.

Socialist Workers Party

We list this organization under the general category of Communist fronts only because its name is misleading. Actually the Socialist Workers Party is simply an organization composed of the followers of the late Leon Trotsky. It has chapters that are active throughout the United States, including Los Angeles and San Francisco; it issues propaganda material in a newspaper entitled *The Militant*; it is founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and is important because it seeks to weaken us by subversion and bring about an ultimate Communist domination of the world.

We have described in preceding reports how Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin were the first triumvirate of the revolution in 1917, and how the three men ruled the Soviet Union from a period beginning after the civil war until the death of Lenin in 1924. During the early period after the revolution, Stalin played a decidedly minor role, but developed an early hatred toward Trotsky, which he concealed patiently until he had solidified his position to such an extent that after the death of Lenin he quickly moved to eliminate the only remaining rival to his ascension to the position of dictator over the U.S.S.R. Stalin consequently made an arrangement with two other leading Bolsheviks, Kamenev and Zinoviev, promising them that if they would assist him in the political liquidation of Trotsky, the three of them would constitute a second Soviet triumvirate and head the Soviet government and the world Communist movement after their rival was eliminated. The other two agreed to help Stalin with his plan, and after Trotsky was undermined, exiled, tried in absentia and branded as a traitor, Stalin turned on his two comrades and liquidated them in turn.

Trotsky found a haven in a villa owned by the wife of the late Diego Rivera, Mexican muralist, situated on the outskirts of Mexico City, and

lived there until one of Stalin's assassins, Ramon Mercader, murdered him on the afternoon of August 20, 1940.

The Trotskyite movement was started in the United States as a result of a booklet which had been written by the former Soviet leader while he was in exile, and which was circulated among the delegates to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow during the summer of 1928. Trotsky had been in New York serving as an editor of a revolutionary Russian language publication called the *Novy Mir*. Just prior to the revolution of October 1917, he used to frequent a restaurant where he drank coffee and discussed revolutionary theories with anyone who would listen. One who particularly befriended him was a man who was later to become a leader in the American Communist Party, Ludwig Lore, whose loyalty to Trotsky continued even after Stalin had issued orders for members of the Communist movement throughout the world to make the hatred of his former comrade a part of their daily lives.

Among the American candidates to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928 was a young leader of the American Communist Party named James Cannon. He obtained a copy of the booklet written by Trotsky which consisted of a vehement criticism of the tactics of the Comintern and proposals of his own for the operation of that coordinating instrumentality for the world Communist movement, and his own idea of the tactics which should be adopted for the purpose of accelerating the world Communist revolution. Each of the copies of this publication were listed, and after they had been circulated to some of the delegates to the Congress, they were to be returned and checked so that none could be smuggled out of the country.

Cannon nevertheless managed to bring a copy back to the United States where he found that a few other Marxists had made an ineffective attempt to start a Trotskyite movement—Ludwig Lore and Max Eastman principally—and he found little difficulty in enlisting them in the organization that he launched. Max Shachtman, who was later to become a functionary in the Trotskyite movement, was also recruited; others followed, and the American Trotskyite movement was founded. Its leaders were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States on October 27, 1928, and the first issue of their publication, *The Militant*, appeared on November 15 of that year. From that time until the present, the Socialist Workers Party, or American Trotskyite movement, has played a decisive role in revolutionary activities in this country. Although relatively small in number, the Trotskyites made an impact on the American scene far out of proportion to their numerical strength. Their proclivity for loud argument and revolutionary hair-splitting gave rise to the popular observation in revolutionary circles that if you put two Trotskyites together in the same room, the noise they made would sound like a well-attended convention in the midst of an acrimonious debate.

It is important to bear in mind that the Trotskyites advocate a condition of permanent revolution, attacking the class enemy on all fronts simultaneously and continuously. There can be no question about the fiery revolutionary dedication of members of this organization, and we treated this subject at great length in our 1957 report when we discussed the death of a student at U.C.L.A. who had been attending meetings at which both Communists and Trotskyites were present.

This collaboration between two Marxist factions that had detested each other for years was brought about by the denunciation of Stalin by Khrushchev in his speech to the assembled delegates to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. Khrushchev excoriated Stalin as a depraved, vengeful, ruthless dictator who would sacrifice any person who constituted a real or fancied obstacle to his continuation as the supreme dictator of the Soviet Union and the leader of world Communism. Trotsky had already been murdered in 1940, and the real reason for the continued hatred of the Trotskyites had disappeared with the death of Stalin in 1953. The Khrushchev speech removed the last lingering excuse for the feud, and thenceforth we have observed collaboration in a United Front movement between members of the Trotskyite and members of the orthodox Communist movement in California and elsewhere throughout the United States.*

In connection with our investigation of the death of Sheldon Abrams at U.C.L.A. in 1956, the Committee received evidence from an expert on the world Communist movement, Doctor Robert G. Neumann of the Political Science Department at the University at Los Angeles. Speaking of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and specifically testifying concerning the call for a second World United Front movement on the part of the Communist apparatus and its implementation in this country, Dr. Neumann was asked to interpret a document which the Committee produced which was issued by the Cominform in April 13, 1956, and entitled "Results of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Tasks of the Polish United Workers Party." In an effort to launch a United Front movement in the United States, as well as in other capitalist countries where there was great resistance to Communist infiltration, it became necessary to heal the breach between the old Stalinists who comprised the orthodox Communist movement throughout the world and the members of the Trotskyite movement, in this country comprising the Socialist Workers Party. The excerpt from the Cominform read as follows:

"An extremely important question for the development of the working class movement and the anti-war fight is that of healing the split in the working class of capitalist countries. This calls for rapprochement and cooperation among all of the workers' parties and trade unions. *The Twentieth Congress has shown that there are real prospects of united action by Communists, Socialists, and other worker parties.*" (Committee's italics.)

In our 1957 report beginning on page 88, we discussed the launching of this United Front movement in California, and pointed out that it was actually the first state in the union where the orders of Khrushchev to start this type of movement were implemented by action. The Committee, in that report, quoted extensively from official documents of both the Communist and Trotskyite organizations to show that there was indeed a collaboration between the two. It now remains to establish in this report that the cooperation has continued; that

* See *American Communism and Soviet Russia* by Theodore Draper, Viking Press, New York, 1960; *The Mind of an Assassin* by Isaac Don Levine, Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, New York, 1959.

the United Front movement has been developed and solidified, and that there is probably more cooperation of the various component radical elements in the United Front movement than there is among the anti-Communist organizations.

One of the most evasive and defiant witnesses that has ever appeared before this Committee was a man examined in connection with our investigation of Communist infiltration of the Los Angeles County Medical Association in 1954. Martin Hall was born in Thuringa, Germany, as Karl Adolph Rudolph Herman Jacobs, came to the United States in 1937, to California in 1940, and was naturalized as a citizen of the United States in Los Angeles in 1945. Since that time he has devoted almost all of his energies to lecturing before subversive organizations, writing for liberal and radical propaganda publications, and travelling about the country in an effort to implement the second United Front movement. When Hall appeared before this Committee in December 1954, he testified freely until we commenced to interrogate him about his membership in Communist organizations in Germany. The Committee had reliable evidence that Hall had been a member of the Executive Board of the Young Communist League in Germany, thereafter became a functionary in the adult Communist movement and taught courses in the Communist schools in California. He was a member of the medical division of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council, the Party's national cultural front movement, was active in such potent Communist controlled organizations as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Civil Rights Congress, the American Continental Congress for Peace, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, the Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs, the American Russian Institute, and participated in many activities such as the massive letter campaign addressed to the Los Angeles City Housing Authority to protest the discharge of Frank Wilkinson after the latter was interrogated by this Committee in 1952.

We have set forth the background of Martin Hall at some length for the purpose of showing how he has continued to serve as a sort of field representative for the purpose of welding together the various radical groups in the second United Front movement, and is still active in that regard. He lives in Los Angeles, but travels up and down the Pacific Coast spending a great deal of time in Oregon and even more in the State of Washington. Bearing in mind that Hall's background is Communist and Stalinist, it is significant to note that he appeared as a speaker October 1959 at 5625 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, and occupied the same platform as Carl Feingold, Los Angeles organizer for the Trotskyite movement, or Socialist Workers Party. In May of that year, on the 24th of May to be exact, Hall appeared before the American Forum for Socialist Education at 411 31st Avenue South, Seattle, Washington, at 7:00 p.m., and told 26 members of the Socialist Workers Party that the new United Front must work for peace, "not only against war, but to create an atmosphere of peace through the destruction of capitalism—doing away with the war of competition, and that opposition to nuclear tests and pro-labor should be the platforms that should be emphasized. All factions should get together on the programs where they think alike and should not bring up their differences. At San Francisco one seg-

ment caused a split and apparently was there purposely to disrupt. Dr. Roberts had seemed very much down-hearted."

During 1960 and the first months of 1961, Hall has continued writing for various propaganda publications in Southern California, has participated in walks for peace, demonstrations for unilateral atomic disarmament, and is presently working harder than ever to implement the current international Communist Party line and its second United Front activity in this country.

We have included this section concerning the Socialist Workers Party for the purpose of demonstrating that the old hostility between the Stalinists and the Trotskyites no longer exists except by reflex action in certain isolated cases: that there is an actual implementation and alarming growth of the second United Front tactic precisely as we predicted in our 1955 report, pursuant to the analysis given to us by Dr. Robert Neumann; to inform the legislature and the people that although the formal membership in the American Communist Party has dwindled, that it has now drawn to itself powerful radical groups—of which the Socialist Workers Party is perhaps the most militant and dangerous—into a second United Front movement in strict obedience to the directive issued by Khrushchev five years ago.

Sporadic Fronts

There has always been a great variety of Communist front organizations quickly created for the purpose of recalling a public official, replacing a conservative school board member or legislator with someone more amenable to the Communist Party line, demanding clemency for some Communist defendants such as those who were convicted for violation of the Smith Act, committees to insist that legislation be enacted, modified, or repealed, pressure groups demanding immediate action on the part of public officials to alleviate some real or fancied wrong, and committees that are formed for the purpose of taking advantage of some situation such as the conviction of a member of a racial minority group. These organizations appear abruptly, flourish for a brief time, and are then liquidated when they have served their purpose.

We still have the sporadic type of front organization, although most of this sort of activity has now been relegated to liberal organizations that have been welded together in the second United Front. Thus the multitude of Communist peace fronts diminished in direct proportion to the success the Party had in swaying liberal organizations to take up the crusade and spend the money and recruit the members to carry on propaganda work that the Communists originated. The early Communist fronts demanding that the United States scrap all its atomic weapons were no longer needed when a multitude of liberal organizations took up the operation, and joined with still other organizations in marching for peace, picketing atomic energy installations, circulating petitions and issuing propaganda. We must make it very clear that we do not accuse all of these organizations of being subversive or Communist-controlled merely because they advocate something that is also advocated by the present trend of the Party line. By the same token, we once again make it plain that we do not assert or imply that all of the members of every front organization are sub-

versive or aware of the Communist motivation of the group to which they belong. We do wish to make it plain that if a person moves from one Communist front organization to another over a long period of time, his predilection for this activity speaks for itself and needs little comment on our part. It is necessary, in our view, to disclose the identities of those individuals who for years have associated with one another in this elaborate network of front organizations. No one should be blamed for making a mistake years ago and succumbing to the blandishments of a Communist front or two; but a university professor or a minister or a rabbi or a priest or a person of prominence in any other field who knowingly lends his name to the sponsor lists of a Communist front organization, thereby attracting unsuspecting young people to the movement, and who thereafter tries to lightly shrug aside this activity, is a person who should be given wide public exposure. The names of these well-known individuals, appearing over and over again on sponsor lists of subversive organizations should be given publicity. They enjoy no immunity from criticism any more than a church enjoys immunity from being criticized if its pastor has belonged to 15 or 20 Communist front organizations over a long period of time and spreads the Party line behind a facade of religious respectability.

We cannot undertake in the space available here to describe all of the front organizations that are appearing and disappearing with great rapidity. There is, however, a type of well-meaning organization, created for the accomplishment of a praiseworthy purpose, and completely free from Communist infiltration, but which—because it presents an opportunity for propagandizing and indoctrination—quickly attracts a Communist following. This sort of movement must be eternally vigilant in order to prevent itself from being warped into conformity with the Communist Party line and eventually becoming a Communist dominated front. The conviction of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, David Greenglass, and Morton Sobell provided the excuse for a great many of these sporadic front organizations that sprang into existence and functioned until Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed, when many of them dropped quietly out of existence. As we shall see, however, the case of Morton Sobell continues to provide a cause around which Communist oriented organizations are gravitating and through which Communists will undoubtedly attempt to infiltrate.

The Morton Sobell Cause

In 1951 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, David Greenglass and Morton Sobell were convicted of espionage against the United States. Sobell had been employed by the Naval Bureau of Ordinance with Max Eltcher; Julius Rosenberg was employed as an inspector for the Army Signal Corps, while Greenglass had access to important classified material in connection with the manufacture of atomic weapons. He was the brother of Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg.

We are not here concerned with the merits or demerits of the case. It is enough to observe in passing that Sobell and the Rosenbergs were tried before the Federal District Court in the State of New York in March of 1951, the trial judge being Irving R. Kaufman. The evidence disclosed that Sobell and Rosenberg, who were former classmates at

college, tried to get one of the witnesses to steal official armament data for the Soviet Union, both during and after World War II and David Greenglass testified on behalf of the government concerning his espionage activity with the Rosenbergs and with Sobell.

The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953; Sobell was sentenced to serve 30 years, and David Greenglass was released from the federal penitentiary in November 1960. Morton Sobell is now in Atlanta Penitentiary and the various committees to obtain his release have been active almost since the time of his conviction.

It is significant to us that 18 years ago when we were investigating the facts surrounding the murder of George Alberts in Oakland by agents of the Communist Party we were struck with the injustice of a situation which accorded to the convicted Communist murderers at San Quentin the greatest of latitude and special attentions, while in the same institution the non-Communist who admittedly participated in the murder but who turned state's evidence was not permitted outside the prison walls and was still monotonously shoving a mop up and down the cell corridors when his three co-defendants were released on parole.

This was the *Point Lobos* murder case which attracted a great deal of attention, and which was attended by the customary array of Communist front organizations seeking clemency for the three Communist murderers but displaying nothing but contempt for the non-Communist defendant who cooperated with the state by testifying fully in the case. Incidentally, as we have pointed out before, the prosecution was handled by the present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court who at that time was District Attorney for Alameda County. A scrutiny of the records at San Quentin disclose that whereas the three Communist inmates had a stream of visitors, the non-Communist had virtually no callers at all and received little attention even from the press.

Much the same situation has developed out of the Rosenberg espionage case. There were committees to secure justice for the Rosenbergs, and committees to secure justice for Morton Sobell and procure his release—all originating from the moment the arrests were made and continuing unabated on behalf of the Rosenbergs until their execution and on behalf of Morton Sobell to the present time. But there were no comparable groups that *paid the slightest attention* to David Greenglass, the man who cooperated with his government by testifying fully about this highly important espionage case, but who, on the other hand, was regarded by the Communist apparatus in this country with cold fury as an informer, a traitor to the class war, and a person to be repudiated.

It now remains to examine the extreme vulnerability of the organizations sincerely seeking the release of Morton Sobell, or at least a re-examination of the circumstances attending his conviction, to Communist infiltration and manipulation.

In New York a group of ministers and professors from various law schools made an independent inquiry into the Sobell case and issued a statement, which, in part, reads as follows:

"The undersigned are American citizens who believe that the sentence of Morton Sobell should be commuted. Sobell was convicted of conspiring with others to transmit to the Soviet Union

writings and information relating to the national defense of the United States and was sentenced on April 5, 1951, to serve thirty years in federal prison. Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who were convicted of espionage in connection with the atomic bomb and were sentenced to death and later executed. Sobell, however, was never implicated in any way with involvement in the atomic espionage for which the Rosenbergs were convicted. This fact was confirmed by the judge who sentenced Sobell. This statement is not concerned with the Rosenberg conviction. The undersigned are and consistently have been convinced anti-Communists. None are associated with any organization, committee, or group of any kind concerned either with the case of the Rosenbergs or that of Sobell. Nor are any of the undersigned connected with Morton Sobell or any members of his family . . . As Americans we are fully aware of the threat of Communism to our freedom and way of life. Any attack on that freedom from without or within must be resisted."

The signers of this statement were: Reinhold Niebuhr, vice-president and Professor of Ethics and Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Edmond Kahn, Professor of Law, New York University; John C. Bennett, Dean and Professor of Ethics and Theology, Union Theological Seminary; Gerhard O. W. Mueller, Associate Professor of Law, New York University; Daniel Day Williams, Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary; Paul Ramsey, Professor of Religion, Princeton University; Jerome Nathanson, Administrative Leader, New York Society for Ethical Culture.

Perhaps this Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell may be able to resist the efforts of Communists to infiltrate the organization. Certainly Dr. Niebuhr has had some experience in that regard as he had been a member of some front organizations in his younger days. We do not in any way impugn the loyalty of Dr. Niebuhr, nor do we describe him as a fellow-traveler or in any sense disloyal. We merely wish to point out that he has had enough experience in Communist front organizations to make him extremely suspicious of Communist infiltration. In setting forth the front organizations to which Dr. Niebuhr has been affiliated, together with the names of some of the individuals with whom he was associated in these groups, we do not imply that there were not a great number of non-Communists in each of these organizations. None of these fronts exists today, but each was controlled by the Communist Party, and the individuals whose names we mention were all either devoted members of the Party itself, or equally devoted fellow-travelers or sympathizers.

The organizations to which Dr. Niebuhr has been affiliated were: American Friends of the Chinese People; other individuals who also belonged to this organization included the late Professor Thomas Addis, Professor T. A. Bisson, the late Professor Robert M. Lovett, Freda Kirchwey, and Robert Brady. American Friends of Spanish Democracy, whose other members included the late Professor Thomas Addis, Corliss Lamont, Professor Henry P. Fairchild, Waldo Frank, Freda Kirchwey, Robert M. Lovett, Vito Marcantonio, Bishop E. L. Parsons, and Maxwell Stewart. American Committee for Peace and

Democracy, other members of which included Morris Carnovsky, Professor T. A. Bisson, Mervyn Rathborne, Lewis Alan Berne, Abram Flaxer, Robert M. Lovett, Maxwell Stewart, Robert W. Kenny, Vito Marcantonio, Sam Ornitz, Clarence Hathaway, Robery Brady, Corliss Lamont, Roy Hudson. American Student Union, which included, besides Dr. Niebuhr, Langston Hughes, Freda Kirchwey, J. Raymond Walsh, Alexander Trachtenberg, Celeste Strack, Waldo Frank, Robert M. Lovett, and Joseph Lash. Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, whose other members included Freda Kirchwey, Joseph Lash, Robert M. Lovett, Professor Henry P. Fairchild, Professor T. A. Bisson, Morris Carnovsky, Lewis Alan Berne. Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, with Lewis Alan Berne, Mervyn Rathborne, Marcel Scherer, Robert W. Kenny, Lee Pressman, Freda Kirchwey, Maxwell Stewart, Professor Thomas Addis, Bishop E. L. Parsons. Committee to Defend Simon Gerson, a Communist Teacher. Other members of this front included Vito Marcantonio, Mervyn Rathborne, and Howard Selsam.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, with which the ministers and law professors named above are associated, is not a Communist front organization. That it is susceptible to such infiltration and that it must exert considerable precaution to prevent infiltration is illustrated by the fact that there is also a Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees, some of the members of which have records of affiliation with numerous Communist front organizations which we will not endeavour to set out in full, because they are already contained in reports previously published by this committee and can readily be examined by consulting the cumulative index.

The Northern California branch of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell is situated at 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco 2, California. It is not a Communist front, but runs precisely the same risk of infiltration as does the parent organization in New York.

The Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees is headed by Warren K. Billings, former president of the San Francisco Shoeworkers Union who was sentenced to life imprisonment in Folsom Penitentiary for his part in the bombing of the Preparedness Day Parade in San Francisco on June 22, 1916. He was defended by International Labor Defense and the Communist Party and accorded executive clemency by Governor Culbert Olson. Mr. Billings has been affiliated with such Communist front organizations as the American Peace Mobilization, Citizens Committee to free Earl Browder, and International Labor Defense, having been associated in these organizations with such individuals as Morris Carnovsky, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Abram Flaxer, Albert Maltz, Paul Robeson, Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Sr., Bella V. Dodd, Philip M. Connelly, Professor Thomas Addis, Marcel Sherer, Mervyn Rathborne, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ferdinand C. Smith, Paul Pinsky, Paul Chown, Paul Heide, Leo Gallagher, and Louise Bransten. Also prominent in the Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees and honorary sponsors of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell are Attorney Daniel G. Marshall, whose record of participation in Communist front organizations and in defense of Communist Party members is set forth in our previous re-

ports, as is that of Dr. Milton Lester. Both Mr. Marshall and Dr. Lester reside in Southern California.

Waldo Frank is also listed as an honorary sponsor of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. He is a New York author, and has one of the most consistent records of front affiliation in the country. It is as follows:

The John Reed Club; League of Professional Groups to Elect Communist Candidates; Congress of American Revolutionary Writers; Non-Partisan Committee to Re-Elect Congressman Vito Marcantonio; National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; Frontier Films; Friends of the Soviet Union; League of American Writers; International Labor Defense; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American Student Union; The Book Union, Inc.; Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo; Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union; Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; *Daily Workers* Defense of "Mission to Moscow;" National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Schappes Defense Committee; Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace.

Some of the individuals who were also associated with Mr. Frank in these various organizations must now be becoming familiar to the reader: Langston Hughes, Sam Ornitz, Earl Browder, John Howard Lawson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Abram Flaxer, Professor Walter Gellhorn, Professor Robert M. Lovett, Maxwell S. Stewart, Albert Maltz, Professor Henry P. Fairchild, Freda Kirchwey, Lee Pressman, William Z. Foster, Louis F. Bludenz, Professor Haakon Chevalier, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Carey McWilliams, Sr., Whitaker Chambers, Frank Spector, Harry Bridges, A. L. Wirin, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Marcel Sherer, Bella V. Dodd, Professor Thomas Addis, Celeste Strack, Leo Gallagher, Lewis Alan Berne, Mervyn Rathborne, Robert W. Kenny, Lee Pressman, Paul Robeson, Professor T. A. Bisson, Philip M. Connelly, Morris Carnovsky, Frank Oppenheimer, Dr. Linus Pauling.

Another of the national sponsors for this organization is Louis F. McCabe, vice-president of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been cited by this and other committees as a Communist controlled organization, and which has also been cited to appear before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington to show cause why it should not be placed on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Mr. McCabe has been affiliated, since 1936, with at least nine Communist front organizations, and Professor Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School, has been a member of six Communist fronts. Other national sponsors of this group have also had one or two front affiliations, but nothing like the records of those named above.

This is the ideal type of movement for Communist infiltration. Started by sincere individuals who had reviewed the trial of Morton Sobell and were convinced that he should be given executive clemency, the organization happened to parallel the Communist Party line on the situation because Sobell was the only remaining prisoner in the espionage case and, of course, the Communist Party could be expected

to go all-out to obtain his release and cast doubt upon the validity of his conviction.

On February 13, 1961, at 8 PM, the case of Morton Sobell was discussed by Reverend John Paul Jones, a member of the National Board of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Reverend Samuel A. Wright, Minister of the Unitarian Church of Marin, at the Hillel Foundation, 2736 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California. The affair was held by arrangement of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Room 303, 343 Franklin Street, San Francisco, and was sponsored by the following: Reverend C. Corwin Calavan, Orinda; Barrett N. Coates, Berkeley; Professor Richard Drinnon, Berkeley; Joseph Genser, Richmond; Rev. George B. Johnson, Oakland; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Berkeley; Dr. Leon Lewis, Berkeley; Alexander Meiklejohn, Berkeley; Helen E. Meiklejohn, Berkeley; Rev. Ralph L. Moellering, Berkeley; Rev. Dryden L. Phelps, Berkeley; Beverly Scaff, San Leandro; Lloyd Scaff, San Leandro; Henry Nash Smith, Berkeley; Allan Solomonow, Berkeley.

This meeting was attended by university students, and was conducted in an orderly manner, simply presenting the controversial aspects of the Sobell case. There is no implication that this meeting was subversive, or that the San Francisco Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell is a front organization. It is, however, vulnerable to infiltration for the reasons we have already expressed. One of its sponsors, Alexander Meiklejohn, has written that he believes Communists should be entitled to teach our students and he has been a member of some organizations that should equip him with the necessary alertness to protect the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Bay Area against Communist infiltration, if he desires to do so. Dr. Meiklejohn was a member of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born when among its other members, were Vito Marcantonio, Morris Carnovsky, Prof. Henry P. Fairchild, Abram Flaxer, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, Bishop E. L. Parsons, Maxwell Stewart, Prof. Robert M. Lovett, Carey McWilliams Sr., Prof. Thomas Addis, Rev. Stephen Fritchman, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Lewis Alan Berne, Martha Dodd, and J. Raymond Walsh. Dr. Meiklejohn was also a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union with Reinold Niebuhr.

In 1942 Dr. Meiklejohn's book, *Education Between Two Worlds*, was published in which he declared that members of the Communist Party should be allowed to teach our students, and that the purpose of all teaching is "... to express the cultural authority of the group by which the teaching is given," both teacher and pupil being agents of the state.* Dr. Meiklejohn has also written an article called "Teachers and Controversial Questions," wherein he advocates the opening of the academic portals to the disciplined members of the international Communist conspiracy dedicated to the penetration and subversion of our institutions and the destruction of our government—civil liberties and all.†

* See critical analysis of the Meiklejohn book by Sidney Hook, 1951 Committee Report, pages 44-47.

† 1953 Committee Report, page 180

THE NEGRO MUSLIMS

While the international aspects of Communism and its manifold expressions in the United States and in California have made it overwhelmingly the greatest subversive problem, we have also conducted investigations and rendered reports concerning non-Communist subversive groups: the Ku Klux Klan, Mankind United, the Friends of Progress, the Umberto Nobile Fascio of San Francisco, and the German-American Bund, together with many splinter groups that have been encountered from time to time. We are now faced with a rapidly growing organization that is hardly eligible for the status of a front, although it does conceal many of its more violent objectives behind a veneer of religion.

More than two years ago the Committee commenced an investigation of the Negro Muslim movement in California, particularly in connection with threats of disturbance in some of our penal institutions on the part of members of this organization. Since that time the movement has grown at an amazing pace throughout the country, and our files concerning the organization have also grown. The material which we have assembled is based on our contacts with members of the Negro Muslim movement, on reports of informants who have attended their meetings, statements we have received from responsible penal authorities, and an excellent article which appeared in a recent issue of *Esquire Magazine*.*

Marcus Garvey, a well-known Negro leader of the early twenties, started a movement to take his followers away from the domination of the white man and to establish an all-Negro nation in Africa which would not only provide a haven for American Negroes but would bring them cultural enlightenment. This movement was, however, based on persuasion instead of violence, soon lost its driving force and disbanded.

The present movement is, as we will see, quite a different matter. It was started in 1933 by Wallace Fard whose movement was based on the Moslem religion and fanatic hatred of the white race.

The movement for the last fifteen years has been headed by Elijah Poole, his six sons, and his son-in-law, Raymond Sharrieff. Poole is 64 years of age; his father was a Baptist minister in Georgia who took his family to Detroit where his son Elijah attended the public schools until he reached the third grade, at which point he left home at the age of sixteen and wandered from city to city serving various jail terms for vagrancy and other minor offenses; his experiences with the authorities having embittered him against the white race and attracted him to Wallace Fard, who was then preaching hatred against the whites to his followers in Detroit. Except for a term of four years in the federal penitentiary for evading the Conscription Act, Poole has devoted his entire time to the organization of the Negro Muslim movement, establishing headquarters in many of our large cities, developing an ideology that appeals to the most illiterate and emotionally unstable type of Negro, and building up a financial power that has already enabled the organization to acquire considerable property and to perfect plans for the establishment of a cultural and educational center for

* "The Angriest Negroes," by William Worthy, *Esquire Magazine*, February 1961, pages 102-106. See also *The Black Muslims in America*, by Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, Beacon Press, Boston, 1961.

which the land has already been purchased. There are approximately 32 Muslim temples scattered throughout the country in the following cities: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, New York, Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia, and Miami. The organization now operates three schools for the indoctrination of young Negroes with race hatred and has also acquired stores, farms, and various business enterprises.

Poole is now known as Muhammed, the Messenger of Allah, and his followers are required to discard their family names and substitute therefor simply the capital letter "X." Apparently the only exception to this requirement is Ray Sharrieff, who commands the FOI, a trained cadre of carefully selected members who devote one night a week to military drills, judo, the use of knives, black jacks and other weapons. Members of this elite group also provide guards and sentinels for meetings, bodyguards for the top officials of the movement, and discipline for the members. They actually constitute the vanguard of the Black Army of Muslim, and are required to subject themselves to the most rigid discipline and maintain themselves in a constant state of physical fitness.

Sharrieff also maintains a tight network of espionage agents who keep him informed concerning infiltration and tendencies toward deviation on the part of the members. Infiltration and deviation is a curse that for some reason seems to plague all of these subversive movements, the Communist Party having had its share of this difficulty until about eighteen months ago. Characteristic, also, of these totalitarian hate movements, is the leader who arrogates to himself the supreme power and is invariably beset by fears that cliques and rivalries may develop in the ranks as a challenge to his authority and thus is compelled to isolate himself, surrounded by his guards and protected by his interminable system of informers and spies. Such absolute authority is a heady intoxicant and those who wield it sooner or later become obsessed with their own strength because they are kept away from close contact with the rank and file members of their movement; they are flattered by those who constitute their immediate subordinates and as their financial power and membership increases they tend to lose their sense of perspective.

Members of the Negro Muslim movement, which is sometimes referred to by its officers as the "Lost-Found Nation of Islam in North America," are required to follow many of the dictates of the orthodox Muslim religion. They can consume only one meal a day, are required to pray five times daily as they kneel facing Mecca, the first prayer commencing at 5 o'clock in the morning; the women members may not use cosmetics of any kind, nor can the members use tobacco, alcohol, or any form of narcotic, or engage in any act of sexual infidelity or fornication, the violation of any of these rules being cause for immediate and summary expulsion. In addition, Elijah Muhammed has promulgated a program of twelve commandments which is entitled a "program for the deliverance and salvation of the Negro peoples." It is as follows:

- 1) "Separate yourselves from the slave master.
- 2) Pool your resources, education and qualifications for independence.

- 3) Stop forcing yourselves into places where you are not wanted.
- 4) Make your own neighborhood a decent place to live.
- 5) Rid yourself of the lust for wine and drink and learn to love self and your kind before loving others.
- 6) Unite to create a future for yourself.
- 7) Build your own homes, schools, hospitals and factories.
- 8) Do not seek to mix your blood through racial integration.
- 9) Stop buying expensive cars, fine clothes, and shoes before being able to live in a fine home.
- 10) Spend your money among yourselves.
- 11) Build an economic system among yourselves.
- 12) Protect your women."

In addition to the promulgation of this type of material, Elijah Muhammed also writes columns for several publications of his order including a Los Angeles publication called the *Los Angeles Herald Dispatch*.

Los Angeles is, incidentally, the headquarters for the Muslim national movement in California, the main office being located at the corner of Figueroa and Washington Streets in that city.

Muslim Members in Penal Institutions

The head of the New York organization, known as Malcolm X, who is one of Muhammed's assistants, joined the movement while he was serving a term for robbery in the prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts. Great numbers of members have been recruited from inmates of other penal institutions throughout the country. For example, in New York more than 100 law suits are now pending by members of the faith against prison officials, growing out of demands that the prison rules be changed in conformity with Moslem religious rites. Some of the prisoners are demanding that their cells face east toward Mecca; others resent integration with whites, and there is a wide variety of other requests that have resulted in such a mass litigation that the courts are threatened with a log jam that will snarl procedure, lead to lengthy and expensive trials, and create serious problems. These mass actions on the part of the organization are beginning to emerge as a pattern, since Malcolm X, the New York leader, headed a parade of 2,000 Negroes to a police station in New York City to effect the release of two members of the Muslim movement. About two years ago there were approximately 20 Negro Muslims at the prison of Soledad, California, and others at Duell Vocational Institution at Tracy. A special directive was issued by prison authorities requiring these inmates to be kept segregated from the others. Our representative who interviewed a member of the movement reported to us that he expressed contempt for informers and hatred of the white race, but nevertheless gave our agent much valuable information.

In March 1961, riots erupted at Folsom Penitentiary because of segregation problems. It was alleged by prison authorities that the difficulty was started by the Muslims opposing segregation, but a knowledge of their ideology quickly dispels this suspicion, as they are insistent on as complete segregation from white inmates as is compatible

with the orderly conduct of the institution. There is also a tendency by uninformed officials to regard all Negroes as members of the Muslim organization—as, indeed, there is some tendency on the part of uninformed people to regard all members of a Communist front organization as subversive. Actually, the Muslim inmates at Folsom were objecting to integration—and that was the primary cause of the trouble. Immediately after the disturbance, all of the Muslim leaders were transferred from Folsom to Soledad. It should be observed that Franklin Williams, mentioned in this and other reports as the former West Coast head of the N.A.A.C.P., and himself a successful attorney, was Deputy State Attorney General at that time, and was placed in charge of the Folsom investigation. Williams is no longer with the California Attorney General's Office, having been assigned an important position with the national government in Washington, D.C.

Similar difficulties have arisen in penal institutions in Alabama and Maryland in addition to those in this state and in New York.

Muslim Meetings

In all of the meetings that have been observed by representatives of this Committee the halls have been carefully guarded and no newspaper reporters, members of the white race, or Negroes who are not members of the movement are admitted. As we have stated before, the FOI or secret police of the movement enforces rigid discipline, maintains strict surveillance over all of the membership, reports evidences of dissension or deviation, guards the meetings, and takes elaborate precautions that all of the proceedings are conducted in absolute secrecy.

Ordinarily—at least in the facilities our representatives have attended—there are upstairs galleries where the women members of the order are required to sit and quietly observe the meetings conducted by the men below. Usually two flags are displayed in the meeting place. One is an American Flag over which are the words "Slavery, Suffering, Death." The other flag is the star and crescent of the Moslem faith on which are the words "Freedom, Justice, Equality." Midway between and above these two flags is a large sign which asks "Which one will survive the war of Armageddon?"

Occasionally there are other "open" meetings which interested Negroes may attend. These are conducted for the purpose of propaganda and recruiting, and prospective members are required to leave blanks filled in with personal data, to study the principles and objectives of the order and of the Islamic faith, and to pass a satisfactory examination. Commenting on the meetings and the type of individual attracted to the movement, Mr. Worthy had this to say:

"Quasi-illiterate Negroes equipped with no special skills who find themselves rejected, not only by the white man but also by most other Negroes—these are the main prospects invited by members to one of the open meetings which the Muslim ministers hold in the temples three times a week. The Moslem religion is mentioned frequently during the meetings, which last anywhere from two to six hours, but the emphasis is on the condition of the Negro in America and Muhammed's program of action to improve it. For the first time, these simple people hear a message which seems to offer hope—a dream of a Utopian world in which they are honored

and respected members of a master race. The male converts to the movement, who outnumber the women by at least 4 to 1, are generally men under 35 whose parents came originally from the deep South or from the West Indies. Before becoming Muslims, the majority of these converts were Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics, as well as Jehovah's Witnesses and Holy Rollers. 'The Muslims I know,' a Negro Episcopalian priest told me not long ago, 'crave social acceptance more than they do personal salvation. Other religions can't provide this for them. Essentially, they are innocent, harmless, but deeply insecure people. Many are only one generation away from voodoo.' **

There have been many charges that the Islamic leaders of Arabia and the Middle East have provided financial backing and expert guidance for the movement in America, but although representatives of the American Negro Muslim organization have travelled through Africa and the Middle East, we have been unable to discover any tangible evidence of any support from abroad.

Communist Attitude Toward the Negro Muslims

There have also been numerous charges of pro-Soviet and pro-Communist orientation of the Negro Muslims, but this is solidly refuted by the pervasive anti-white fanaticism of the movement. It is to be noted that their definition of white includes all of the white peoples of the world; and their definition of black includes not only the Negro people of the world but all of the darker peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

The leading expert on Negro problems for the Communist Party of the United States is Claude Lightfoot, a prominent Party functionary of many years standing, who recently wrote a report for the Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party which was held in December 1959. A portion of that report was devoted to the Negro Muslim problem, and declared:

" . . . there is the growth of Negro nationalism, finding expression in the birth and development of the Moslem [sic] † movement in the Negro community. I believe the original draft said something about this, but in my estimation it is wholly inadequate, and we have to have an assessment of this. Let me briefly say that the Moslem movement arises and gains sustenance primarily from the disillusionment of many Negroes with their white allies. That is the main source, as well as the ferocity of the attacks of the Southern Dixiecrats. And of course the actions of the liberals in the last congress facilitate this kind of feeling of desperation, this inability to distinguish the forces that are necessary on the road to freedom.

The Moslem movement is growing. I believe it has something like 70,000 members in the country at present. They are building institutions, and they are attracting Negro youth by the thousands. They include race pride, but as Marxists and Communists—and here I speak especially to Negro Communists—we cannot allow the conditions that nurtured the growth of such a movement, nor the

* "The Angriest Negroes," op. cit.

† When applied to the organization in this country, the proper word is "Muslim"; when applied to the religious movement it is "Moslem."

positive forces of race pride to becloud the fact that the position of the Moslem movement is divisive of Negro-white unity and will lead not to Negro freedom but to just the opposite. And I think that we have to say it.

There are some comrades who have become alarmed and foresee this as becoming a dominant trend in Negro life. I do not think this is so. A Moslem movement may grow, and it will grow in proportion to the weaknesses displayed by other forces. But the setting of the Moslem movement in 1960 is not the setting of the Garvey movement of the 1920's. Today there are over 2 million Negro trade unionists, and this fact is having a revolutionary effect on all of American life." *

From all of the sources available to us, and we regard them as highly reliable, the Communist estimate of the membership of the Negro Muslims is, if anything, somewhat conservative. The Communist Party in this country has, from its inception, endeavoured to attract Negroes to its ranks. At one stage of its existence the Party even undertook to establish a Negro nation in the deep South and through its Southern Conference for Human Welfare made an all out effort to recruit large numbers of the Negro people. This attempt, like the Communist attempt to penetrate and control the N.A.A.C.P., resulted in failure. There are, to be sure, many Negroes who are members of the Communist Party and a few of them have been allowed to assume positions of official significance from time to time—but the actual control of the American Communist Party has always been directed from the Soviet Union—despite frenzied propaganda to the contrary—and there would be about as much opportunity for a Negro to assume a position of real significance in the leadership of the American Communist Party as there would be for a member of his race to occupy a similar position in the Soviet Union.

Present Status of Negro Muslim Movement

Prominent Negro leaders throughout the country have unanimously condemned the Muslim movement, but virtually all of them concede that it has exerted a great appeal to many Negroes, it has given them a purpose, a hope, something to work for. It has bound them together with ties of religious and anti-white fanaticism and although members of the organization declare that they are conscientious objectors and that their religion forbids them to enter our armed forces, they would at the same time eagerly rise in violence against the white man and this, indeed, is the main excuse for the existence of the movement. But they refuse to participate in any other kind of a war. This is very much like the Communist definition of war: those that are of assistance to the U.S.S.R. are "wars of liberation," and those that run counter to Soviet interests are "imperialist wars," that the world Communist movement will oppose with all its strength.

There is another interesting parallel between the Negro Muslim movement and the Communist Party, and that is the advocacy of the overthrow of a hated regime by force, violence or any other means

* "The Negro Question Today," by Claude Lightfoot, *Political Affairs* February 1960, page 84 at page 90.

that will accomplish the purpose. Radical socialists in this country and all over the world have for years advocated the change of our form of government through peaceful means and after a period of education, but the most radical element of the American Socialist movement was fired with enthusiasm when they observed their radical colleagues in Russia armed with the concept of class warfare, materialism, and the necessity for violent overthrow of capitalist and imperialist regimes, and use these weapons for the successful crushing of the Russian government in the revolutionary uprising of October 1917.

The Garvey movement and the leadership of Wallace Fard in the United States, each seeking to lead the Negro people out of their alleged white bondage were relatively weak and pallid, but when the element of force and hatred and mass action was added, the movement immediately assumed vitality and has attracted at least 70 thousand Negroes in this country. It was this element of force and violence, accompanied by rigid discipline and class hatred that gave impetus and drive to the world Communist movement. Now the element of race hatred has been added, and we must not shrug aside this threat, incipient as it now is, as we have been prone to shrug aside the Communist threat that is so much worse because it is more subtle, accompanied by a massive propaganda attack, by highly developed infiltration and espionage techniques, and geared to a carefully planned global strategy.

Every real or fancied act of discrimination drives more Negroes into the Muslim ranks—and our survey discloses considerable sympathy among Negroes who have no connection with the movement, but who are being stirred by the fact that this group is implementing its resentment with action.

It should also be noted that the Muslim movement is not only growing in the United States, but abroad. Throughout all Africa it is growing. Powerfully motivated by anti-West, anti-white feelings that have given this fourteen-hundred year old religion a new impetus. It is fast becoming a crusade. In the new African states Muslim recruiters are getting 5 members for every one converted to Christianity.

As more and more members and leaders of the Muslim Negro movement are arrested as draft evaders, there will be increasing publicity in the press and public attention will be directed to this problem. On March 2, 1961, a Federal Grand Jury in San Francisco indicted Edward Moore, also known as Bernard X, leader of the Muslims in the Bay area, for failure to report for induction into the armed forces. Moore contends that being a member of a religious faith that does not believe in such things, he should be treated as a conscientious objector.

There is another interesting legal matter that may soon present itself in our courts. This is the application of the Smith Act which resulted in the conviction of so many Communist leaders in this country until it was emasculated by a decision issued by the United States Supreme Court. The Smith Act was used to bring about the conviction of members of the Trotskyite movement years ago, when there was still bitter hatred on the part of that group toward the Stalinists. As long as the Trotskyites were on the receiving end, there were no Communist fronts and pressure groups demanding release of the defendants; no batteries of Communist lawyers snarling at the court;

no defiant witnesses using the legal forum as a platform for class-struggle propaganda; no petitions signed by starry-eyed innocents who thought they were being "progressive" in asking that the government stop harassing these Communist leaders. All of these things came into existence when the Smith Act was applied to the Communists, and *their* leaders were locked up, their lines of communication disrupted, and their activities driven deep under ground. Then came the decision by our Supreme Court that rendered the Smith Act impotent, and Communist activity has since become more open and defiant.

Now there is another group that is competing with the Communists for the Negro minority. It, too, is based on force and violence and class hatred. It, too, operates in secrecy and is based on a fanatic adherence to a potent ideology. It, too, advocates the forceable overthrow of our government, indeed, of the entire white race. Should the Smith Act be applied to the Muslim leaders, or should we wait under our Supreme Court decision, until they commence blowing up the country and slaughtering us? It can hardly be contended now that the Act should be applied to Trotskyites and Negro Muslims but not to the Communists—but then strange things are happening with bewildering rapidity these days.

THE LIBERAL ENTENTE

There has always been a group of organizations, extremely liberal in character, vociferous and insistent in their activities, who welcome Communists to their membership and invite Communists to participate in their functions. Some of these groups occasionally express a declaration of opposition to Communism; most of them serve as what Lenin called "transmission belts" for the Party line, and we have used the word "entente" to describe them because they consistently collaborate with each other. We hasten to point out that we do not describe any of these organizations as Communist fronts: that is, infiltrated by the Communist Party to such an extent that it dominates their activity. We mention them solely for the reason that because their ranks are open to members of the Communist Party, and since they unhesitatingly make common cause with the Communist apparatus, they are exceedingly vulnerable; and if the Party did not use this type of organization from time to time it would be incredibly stupid, which it is not.

Women for Democratic Action

Typical of the type of organization we have described above, is Women for Democratic Action, a Los Angeles group that has been motivated by the energetic ministrations of Dorothy Marshall since its inception. Mrs. Marshall has also served as the president of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, and is active in the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with Frank Wilkinson. Her attention for the past four or five years has been concentrated on the abolition of all agencies that investigate Communism. Readers of previous reports may remember that for four years this Committee had an agent operating undercover in various Communist front organizations in Southern California. One of the meetings attended by her was in October 1953, when the conference of Women for Legislative Action was held at the Statler Hotel in Los Angeles. About 300 people

attended this meeting, including the chairman of the Communist Party in Southern California, Dorothy Healey. Up to this time Women for Democratic Action had posted as a liberal, non-Communist movement. The presence of Dorothy Healey and her participation in the business of the meeting quickly dispelled this illusion and John Despol, prominent official in the C.I.O.—and equally prominent for his staunch anti-Communist position—rose to object to the presence of Mrs. Healey. He soon found himself isolated as a lone dissenter, his being the only vote cast for the removal of Mrs. Healey, whereupon Mr. Despol walked out of the meeting in protest and severed his connections with the organization.

Southland Jewish Organization

The Southland Jewish Organization was founded in 1943 and has several chapters in the vicinity of the city of Los Angeles. It has been a member of the Los Angeles Community Council since 1946 and while it has never been cited as a Communist front organization, and we do not now charge that it is Communist dominated, its policies and expressed objectives over the years have attracted a scattering of Communists and its officers have, on occasion, invited Communists and fellow-travelers to participate in its activities. At the very time it affiliated with the Los Angeles Community Council, for instance, it was also cooperating with a Communist front known as the Western Council for Progressive Labor in Agriculture.*

Several years ago the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was trying to bring about the enactment of a Fair Employment Practice Act in California, accordingly prepared a statement advocating the passage of such a law and distributed it to members of the Legislature. Mr. Franklin Williams, then the director of the N.A.A.C.P. in the Western states, has told us under oath how in 1956 the Southland Jewish Organization plagiarized this piece of literature, adopted it for its own, and thereby hampered the campaign. Mr. Williams said: “. . . the Southland Jewish Organization printed a publication exactly from the same type, the same capitalization, the same layout and at the bottom it said ‘return to Southland Jewish Organization.’ When we took our problem to the Legislature, we also took our publication and we found on the same desks of legislators were copies of the publication containing the name of the Southland Jewish Organization. Immediately to the unsuspecting legislators this became a Communist operation, rather than the legitimate operation of a democratic organization.”†

Active participants in the functions and activities of the Southland Jewish Organization have included Judge Stanley Moffatt, Carey McWilliams Sr., William Bitner, Robert W. Kenny, Albee Slade, Averill Berman, Earl Robinson, Martin Hall, William Murrish, Eleanor Raymond, Jack Tenner, Sanford Goldner, Dr. Milton Z. London, Dr. Isadore Zifferstein, Ben Margolis, John T. McTernan, Leo Bransten Jr., Fred Steinmetz, Dr. Morris Feder, Pauline Epstein, and Dr. Alexander Pennes. Each of them has been mentioned in previous reports in connection with Communist front activity over a period of years.

* 1948 Report, page 383.

† 1957 Report, page 124.

The Southland Jewish Organization has made and is making an undoubted contribution to Southern California culture and has accomplished considerable good among the Jewish minority; but it will always be open to infiltration if it welcomes Communists and fellow-traveler to its programs, pays them honors and respect, collaborates on occasion with Communist fronts, and admits Communists to its membership. It has declared itself opposed to all loyalty oaths on that ground that "... the loyalty oath program is not intended to strengthen loyalty, but is, instead, a device for enforcing conformity," and brings about "... destruction of due process, violation of individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution, increasing reliance on professional informants and hearsay evidence, widespread attack upon individuals on the theory of 'guilt by association,' serious interference with academic and religious freedom, reliance on so-called 'subversive lists' of organizations who are left without proper recourse for defense, inherent inability of the program to disclose genuine subversives, with every opportunity given to by-pass evidence of genuine subversion of American democracy."*

The Southland Jewish Organization has also urged repeal of the Walters-McCarran Act, the Brownell-Butler Act, opposed all use of informants by legislative investigative committees, and the dismissal of private or government employees because they invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about subversive activities or affiliations.

On previous occasions we have pointed out how the Communist fronts and their peripheral entente have cooperated with one another by exchanging mailing lists containing the names of sympathizers or prospective members, and that it has been the rule rather than the exception that when an individual affiliates with one of these organizations and stays active for any length of time, he will invariably gravitate toward the other organizations until his entire time is taken up with a succession of lectures, meetings, public protest demonstrations, conventions and similar activities, and his life is altered by imperceptible degrees until his thinking and his actions are brought into conformity with the Party line. Thus our agents have on many occasions affiliated with one of these organizations, and thereafter received literature from all of them—propaganda material, invitations to lectures and public meetings, solicitation for funds, and a constant barrage of material that is currently being sold at the Communist propaganda outlet in Southern California, the Progressive Bookstore at 1806 West Seventh Street in Los Angeles.

Americans for Democratic Action

During the past few years we have received many inquiries concerning the status of this organization, and therefore deem it appropriate to devote some space to it here. This organization is in no sense a Communist front, or in any way subversive. It was started in Washington, D. C., on January 4, 1947, by a small group of ultra-liberals from the extreme left wing of the Democratic Party. Some of the early members were Leon Henderson, Wilson Wyatt, Chester Bowles, Harry Girvetz, Carey McWilliams, Sr., Gus Gaynor, Joseph Rauh, Walter Reuther, Stanley Mosk, and David Dubinsky. It was to be a

* Resolutions of Southland Jewish Organization.

non-sectarian, non-partisan, anti-Communist organization, opposed to totalitarianism in any form, and soon adopted a stand that no Communist or Communist supporter was eligible for membership. As the organization became more active, and as it began to oppose government loyalty programs and congressional and state committees investigating subversion, it was gently pushed more and more in a steady leftward direction. Contemporaneously with its institution, the Communist newspaper in California declared angrily that the A.D.A. was "a Trojan horse for red-baiters."*

But this sort of criticism diminished as the A.D.A. came to the defense of embattled liberals who were clamoring for an emasculation of the government's loyalty and security program in the face of indisputable evidence of infiltration of the most sensitive positions by Soviet agents and dedicated American Communists. The ADA has attacked the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, federal and state committees on un-American activities and the use of informants who were once Party members. As this program began to assume shape and to gain momentum there was a corresponding and understandable absence of criticism in the Party press. Of course it is perfectly clear that simply because an organization, or an individual, is in favor of something the Communist Party also espouses, does not necessarily mean that the organization or individual is subversive or following the Communist Party line for some ulterior motive. We repeat, however, that some of the techniques employed by A.D.A. leaders, and the fact that it has opposed with considerable vigor almost the entire loyalty-security program of the government, it has made it the target of considerable criticism.

In California, the A.D.A. started business in March 1947 under the direction of the actor, Melvyn Douglas. During the thirties, Mr. Douglas had drifted very close to the Communist Party, joining a few relatively innocuous front organizations, and with his wife, Helen Gahagan Douglas, had entertained some ardent Communists in their home from time to time. But both Mr. and Mrs. Douglas quickly saw the movement for what it really was, and repudiated it. Moreover, they made no secret of their antipathy toward Communism and have since been forthright about this attitude. Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., a Washington lawyer, together with Anthony Wayne Smith, an attorney and liberal philosopher, has been active in the affairs of the A.D.A. since its inception. Rauh has represented many clients summoned before Congressional committees investigating Communism—as, of course, is his right—but his zeal got the better of his caution in 1954. To place this incredible affair in its proper perspective, it is imperative that we have no doubt concerning the position of the A.D.A. about what it terms "informers." Rauh wrote in the organization's publication, *The Progressive*, in May 1950:

"Let us do away with confidential informants, dossiers, political spies . . . No one can guess where this process of informing will end."

* *People's Daily World*, January 8, 1947.

But that was four years before Mr. Ruah ran into Paul Hughes, who had recently been discharged from the Air Force and needed money. He went first to an agent of the McCarthy committee and tried to sell him a lurid tale about overseas subversion at a strategic air force base. The agent properly checked the story, found it false, and got rid of Mr. Hughes. The latter then tried the F.B.I., where he met with an equally chilly reception. Then he contacted the editor of a liberal publication, who suggested a conference with Ruah. These two credulous gentlemen believed Hughes' statement that he had been a secret agent for the late Senator McCarthy and that—with appropriate financial assistance—he could and would expose the dire methods the McCarthy committee had employed. So, over a period of nine months, a period of gestation for the birth of the purposed exposé, Hughes got \$2300 from the editor of the liberal journal and \$8500 from the A.D.A. leader. During this time he made long reports, in considerable detail,—all completely fabricated and spun from his own active imagination—and finally committed the inevitable blunder that led, not only to his downfall, but the exposure of Ruah's actions as well.

Hughes made the mistake of posing as a private investigator, was summoned before a Federal Grand Jury and testified that a former Communist named Harvey Matusow had been pressured to repudiate his sworn statements to federal agencies by none other than Hughes' benefactor, Joseph Ruah. This, too, was an outright lie, and Hughes was promptly indicted for perjury. This, of course, made it necessary for Ruah to appear and testify at the trial, and out came the nauseating fact that while excoriating the use of informants by official agencies of the government in their fight against subversion, Ruah had himself hired a paid informer and a political spy to get the goods on the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. Hughes had never worked for McCarthy or his committee, and indeed had been quickly detected as a transparent fraud by an alert McCarthy agent. Thus Ruah tried his best to use an informer and a spy—but was too naive to even find a good one.

Since this affair the A.D.A., still under Ruah's leadership, has demanded bail for the eleven Communist leaders tried at Foley Square and convicted under the Smith Act; has protested a contempt conviction of Vincent Hallinan as a result of a court appearance for Harry Bridges; declared that the Communist threat in this country is vastly over-rated, and is presently demanding that the government restore to J. Robert Oppenheimer his access to secret information.

The American Civil Liberties Union

On the eleventh of April 1961, A. L. Wirin, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California, addressed a letter to Senator Hugh M. Burns at Sacramento, requesting that: "I would appreciate greatly hearing from you as to the estimate of your committee of the A.C.L.U. during your chairmanship."

A copy of this letter was sent to Mr. Eason Monroe, executive director of the A.C.L.U. at Los Angeles. The letter also pointed out that before Senator Burns became chairman of the committee, the A.C.L.U. had been described in one of our reports as a "Communist front organization" or a "Communist transmission belt," and that this statement had caused a great deal of confusion. In addition, we wish to inde-

pends to point out that there has also been considerable confusion of the American Civil Liberties Union with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which is the organization that is indisputably controlled by the Communist Party, and which employs Frank Wilkinson as its executive director. It has no connection whatsoever with the A.C.L.U.

For all of these reasons we are happy to comply with Mr. Wirin's request. Before doing so, however, we wish to point out that we had also received a request from Mr. Robert Welch, head of the much-publicized John Birch Society, dated March 22, 1961, and sent from Belmont, Massachusetts. The wire was directed to Senator Hugh M. Burns as chairman of the Committee, and requested an investigation of the John Birch Society, pledging complete cooperation and promising that none of the John Birch witnesses would invoke the Fifth Amendment. The news of the wire was published in the press, and Mr. Eason Monroe as director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union declared that: "Legislative investigation is not available to anyone who seeks [sic] an inquiry in public form for his views. Such an investigation would serve no valid legislative purpose and would violate the first amendment rights of the society."*

Mr. Wirin then made a similar declaration and thereafter sent the above mentioned request for us to evaluate the American Civil Liberties Union. We are compelled to point out that we are unable to understand why we should *not* perform such a service for the John Birchers but *should* do it for the A.C.L.U. We see not one iota of difference in these two cases, except in the basic nature and purposes of the respective organizations. If it is proper for us to respond to the A.C.L.U.'s explicit request for an examination and evaluation of their organization, then certainly we must accord the same treatment to Mr. Welch and the Birch Society. And we are happy to perform this service for each of these organizations for the reason that each has been accused of being subversive, the A.C.L.U. of being influenced by Communism, and the Birch Society of being a fascist group.

We believe it appropriate to point out here, somewhat parenthetically, still another instance of this peculiar sense of propriety. For years one of the large San Francisco newspapers has taken every opportunity to criticize this Committee. With the exception of *The People's World*, this is the only paper that has editorialized against us, ridiculed us, published sarcastic cartoons about us, and for years waged a consistent campaign for our extinction. When we held numerous hearings we were red-baiting and witch-hunting; when we concentrated on less spectacular techniques, we weren't doing anything and must therefore be abolished.

Then, and fairly recently, this paper that so deplores what it regards as reckless smearing of reputations by legislative committees, accused someone of having been a pervert. The newspaper had no legislative immunity; it was not an official agency. Neither did it have any evidence with which to sustain the smear. The smearee sued the paper for libel.

It so happens that we had examined the plaintiff in this matter under oath years ago, and the newspaper assumed that we would not have

* *The Open Forum*, published by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, April 1961, p. 1.

called him without reasonable cause. So, now that the paper found itself on the receiving end of formidable libel action for accusing a man of something reprehensible without proof, its opinion of our usefulness magically improved and it solicited our assistance. We cite this to illustrate, yet again, how attitudes inexplicably change according to circumstances.

History of the American Civil Liberties Union

Roger Baldwin was the moving spirit behind the creation of the American Civil Liberties Union, which developed from an organization known as the American Union Against Militarism. Baldwin had been directing the Civic League in St. Louis shortly before the outbreak of World War II, had recently graduated from Harvard, was imbued with pacifist convictions, and called himself a "philosophical anarchist."

When the first World War erupted in Europe, the American Union Against Militarism was established for the purpose of preventing this country from becoming involved. Lillian D. Wald was its chairman. The executive board comprised Crystal Eastman and Charles T. Hallinan. Roger Baldwin was placed in charge of its civil liberties bureau, but this adjunct was soon far busier than the parent organization and began functioning independently. The United States did become involved in the war and Baldwin was jailed as a conscientious objector. Public sentiment forced liquidation of the American Union Against Militarism but the National Civil Liberties Bureau, the first of its kind in the history of the country, was kept functioning. It handled a few cases for the International Workers of the World and miscellaneous causes, but conscientious objector cases occupied most of its time. Baldwin was released on July 21, 1919.

The war was over and a party was given in his honor at Norman Thomas' residence on East Seventeenth Street in New York City, the main interest being the necessity of organizing an influential movement to champion civil rights. Among those present on this occasion were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, elected chairman of the Communist Party of the United State about a month ago, and who then represented the Worker's Defense League; Agnes Smedley, who later became a Soviet agent in China, and whose remains are now buried in a Red Chinese Cemetery, and who then represented Friends of Freedom for India, and several other of Baldwin's close friends—fresh from their places of incarceration as conscientious objectors.*

As a result of this and other conferences the National Civil Liberties Bureau became the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920. Harry F. Ward, then a professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary served as chairman; Roger Baldwin as director, and Lucille Milner was field secretary. There was also a group of leaders of widely divergent political views, including Felix Frankfurter, now an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, William Z. Foster, until about a month ago the chairman of the Communist Party of the United States; Helen Keller, whose history is well-known, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, heretofore mentioned.

* *Education of an American Liberal*, by Lucille Milner, Horizon Press, New York 1954, p. 120.

One of the first celebrated cases the A.C.L.U. handled was the authorizing of bail for Fred Beal and other defendants in the Gastonia Textile strike. This Communist-directed labor disturbance in North Carolina was attended by an unusual degree of violence during which Beal, then a member of the Party, shot a police officer. International Labor Defense sprang into action and arranged for Beal to flee the United States, skip his bail, and live in the Soviet Union. The bail that was provided through the instrumentality of the A.C.L.U. was forfeited. Beal went to the Soviet Union where he was hailed as a hero for shooting a capitalist policeman, gave a series of lectures and lived in relative luxury at the Metropole Hotel in Moscow. We mentioned this experience of Beal's in our last report, but it will bear brief recapitulation here. His propaganda value soon ran dry and he found himself isolated. Then to relieve his boredom an influential and sympathetic friend escorted him through the Lubianka Political Prison operated by the Soviet Secret Police. The horrors that Beal saw on this occasion disillusioned him with all things Communist, and he resolved to escape from Russia as soon as possible, make his way back to the United States, surrender to the authorities, and spend the rest of his life fighting a movement that had originally impressed him as a world crusade for the benefit of mankind, but which he now knew was a throwback to the dark ages of barbarism. He eventually did manage to escape, return to North Carolina and surrender to the police. He found that the man he had shot was still living, so he served a term in prison and did devote the rest of his life to fighting Communism in all of its forms, until he died in an obscure Los Angeles hotel several years ago.

As the result of the forfeiture of the bail, which amounted to a total of some \$37,000, a heated controversy arose between the A.C.L.U. and the Communist Party; the former organization insisting that it would furnish no further bail in Communist cases unless the Party promised there would be no more bail-jumping. It was, however, impossible to conclude this kind of an agreement, and as a result William Z. Foster who was then secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, resigned indignantly from the national committee of the A.C.L.U.

In 1932 the activities of the A.C.L.U. were largely concentrated in Washington, D.C., and considerable respectability was added to the organization through the affiliation of a number of officials such as Francis Biddle, the Attorney General; Felix Frankfurter, who is now a Supreme Court Justice; Adolf A. Berle, Jr., who was a State Department official; Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; Lloyd K. Garrison, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board; Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, and others of important stature. At the same time the scope of the A.C.L.U.'s activities was considerably broadened and it began to file *amicus curiae* briefs in courts where civil liberties issues were involved, as well as to institute more cases for the purpose of testing the law in this somewhat controversial field.

By 1935 there were 2,000 members in the A.C.L.U. throughout the nation, but at the fifteenth anniversary banquet in New York, Chairman Harry F. Ward was unable to attend because of illness. On this occasion he was the recipient of many messages eulogizing him for his brilliant leadership, his energy, enthusiasm and insight, his inspiration

for the rest of the A.C.L.U. officials and similar letters expressing admiration for his leadership of the organization since its inception.

In September 1939, World War II started in Europe and the American people became aware of the threat of espionage in this country by individuals who were loyal to Nazi Germany and who were operating through the medium of several front organizations, including the German-American Bund, which had chapters in the principal cities of the country. At the same time restrictions were clamped on the Communist Party, and it was barred from participating in general elections in most of the states. The F.B.I. began to greatly augment its experts in the field of counter-subversive activity and to build up its files in that area. In the meantime, Dr. Harry F. Ward, the A.C.L.U. national chairman, had been devoting a considerable amount of his talents and energies as head of the largest Communist front organization in the history of the United States, The American League for Peace and Democracy. Criticism had been expressed by some of the officials of the A.C.L.U. because their chairman was committed to the preservation of basic freedoms and civil liberties through the A.C.L.U., but as president of this Communist front organization he was apparently championing a cause committed to the suppression of those very rights. The controversy mounted, and here we will let Lucille Milner describe what happened, as she was not only a partisan in behalf of Dr. Ward, but was secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union from its inception for a period of twenty years, and is in an excellent position to know what occurred since she was present throughout the entire controversy. In her book, *Education of an American Liberal*, from which we have already quoted and to which we have already referred in a footnote, she described the affair as follows:

"Our troubles started early in 1939, the year that saw the last harmony of our Board. At the beginning it was nothing more than a cold war. Each side, until a few years ago, bound together by common aims, was now bent on getting its views across, hoping to use such influence and prestige as the Civil Liberties Union had to advance its cause. A small group led by Norman Thomas and Morris Ernst first tried to get the Board to go on record as opposed to the Soviet Union. But this was contrary to our traditional policy of taking no part in international affairs, and the Board would have none of it, declaring that the Soviet Union always had been 'wholly unconcerned with movements abroad or with foreign governments.' They then started a movement not limited to the Board or even to the Civil Liberties Union members, to force the resignation of Dr. Ward as chairman. They declared that the American League for Peace and Democracy was Communist 'front' organization and Dr. Ward, its chairman, a 'Red' who must be ousted as chairman of the Civil Liberties Union. This set off sparks when presented to our Board. While expressing regret that our policies and programs should be 'carelessly' confused with those of the League, the Board rejected as unthinkable the proposal to force the resignation of our chairman. 'Members of the Union differ sharply in their economic and political views and all are free,' the Board declared, 'to express them without involving the Union.'

But the offensive continued unabated and much of our precious time was wasted with this bickering; there had been nothing else quite like it before. Men and women drawn together originally by a mutual interest and a common goal, were at each others throats in the conflict of one ideology against another. Our agenda was hopelessly cluttered with dog-fights that always followed the same pattern until finally it was necessary to appoint a special committee to clear the air.

In a desperate attempt to make Dr. Ward resign, Norman Thomas used his column in the *Call*, the official Socialist Party organ, for an attack on him, at the same time calling for a purge of Communists and fellow-travelers on the Civil Liberties Union Board. He justified making public the controversy as an answer to the many questions coming to him from Socialist comrades concerning the connection with the Union and the things for which it stood. The Board meeting in which Norman's article was noted was a hammer and tongs affair. One after the other went after him for the impropriety of such public discussion of the Union's internal quarrels by a member of the Board of Directors. But, in addition, Osmond Fraenkel, one of the most thoughtful and scholarly of the lawyers on our Board, whom everyone conceded was neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler, but one of the wisest friends of civil liberties in America, took issue with several of Norman's statements.

Osmond agreed, as all of us did, that no person who does not cherish civil liberties belongs on our Board, but he believed also that it would be impertinent for any one of us to challenge the sincerity of the belief expressed by any other of us merely because we do not share some other conviction of our fellow members, even on so important an issue as Russia.

Then, in an unforgettable evening meeting of the Board at Art Hayes'* home in an atmosphere tense with excitement, the Board went on record against our setting up standards of qualification for membership on the Board of Directors of the national committee of the Union. 'It is the sense of the Board,' it declared, 'that there is no occasion to adopt such a resolution.'

But it was too late. Already such a resolution was on its way to final acceptance. Plainly exceeding its authority, the nominating committee headed by Richard Childs, without notifying the Board, though in collaboration with Roger [Baldwin] adopted such a purge resolution and sent it, quite contrary to our by-laws, to the national committee, who had the final say on matters of policy, for approval.

The nominating committee's action was not fair or democratic and certainly its proposal was a departure from the long-standing policy of the Union which in the past had made loyalty to the Bill of Rights the sole requirement imposed on its members and officers. But in the end it did succeed. At the annual meeting of the Union in February 1940, the 'purge' resolution was adopted as a necessary means, its backers claimed, to end the 'machinations' of a

* Arthur Garfield Hayes.

group of alleged Communists on the Board who were injecting political controversy into the Board's proceedings.

The Civil Liberties Union, the resolution set forth, regards it as inappropriate for any person to serve on the governing committees or the staff of the Union who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declaration and connections indicates his support of such a principle. The wording of the resolution was so ambiguous and so vague, some of its critics declared, as to make the Union appear to be a fellow-traveler of the Dies Committee.

The banned groups included not only Communist, Nazi and Fascist parties, but also native organizations with obviously anti-democratic objectives and practices, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, the Christian Front and others.

The inclusion of the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, and Christian Fronters fooled no one, for at no time and at no place have they ever fought for civil liberties in this country. They did not believe in civil liberties here or anywhere. The simple truth is that the passage of the resolution was due primarily to the emotions in the country aroused by the Soviet-German non-aggression pact and the Soviet-Finnish war. Roger [Baldwin] frankly stated this to be its origin in a release to the press announcing the adoption of the resolution. 'The occasion for raising this issue at this time,' he declared, 'is the increasing tension that has resulted everywhere from the direction of the Communist international movement since the Soviet-Nazi pact,' which, with the changes in Communist policy, 'have raised sharp issues which were reflected in the attitude of the members of our Board of Directors.'

After the adoption of the resolution, which provoked wide discussion in the press, events moved swiftly. A large proportion of our members in local branches opposed it. Throughout the chaotic weeks that followed, letters poured into the office, pro and con, with a ratio of two to one against the purge; some forty members resigned. The office was in an atmosphere of continual crisis.

Many outstanding liberals urged that the resolution be rescinded. To mention only a few, they were: Prof. Robert Morss Lovett of Chicago University, then Secretary of the Virgin Islands; John L. Bernard, ex-congressman from Minnesota; Professors Franz Boas and Robert S. Lynd of Columbia; Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University; C. F. Taylor of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Henry T. Hunt of the U. S. Department of the Interior; Carey McWilliams, California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing; Theodore Dreiser, William L. Cochrane of Baltimore, all familiar names in the liberal movements of that time. Of our own national committee, Alexander Meiklejohn, Henry R. Mussey, Vida Scudder, John A. Lapp, William Draper Lewis, George P. West, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, and Jeannette Rankin had voted an emphatic 'no' when the resolution was before them."*

The controversy raged in stormy sessions, the intense antagonisms mounting until, according to Mrs. Milner, she despaired of the organ-

* Milner, op. cit., pp. 262-269.

ization's capacity to survive. Then Dr. Harry Ward announced his resignation as a protest against the purge resolution. Thus the first national chairman of the A.C.L.U., who a short time before had been the recipient of messages of praise, congratulation, and eulogy, was suddenly forced out of the organization. But he continued in his capacity as chairman of the huge Communist front organization that was spreading its subversive poison from one end of the nation to the other.

The A.C.L.U. Indulges in Red-Baiting

Since Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was recently elected chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, replacing William Z. Foster who had long held that position, since each of these individuals was a charter member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and since each of them was forced out of the organization's Board because of Communist affiliation, we believe we should devote some attention here to the background of Mrs. Flynn. As will be explained later, she has written a review of Lucille Milner's book, which was published in an issue of *Political Affairs*, the monthly ideological publication of the American Communist Party, in which she accuses the American Civil Liberties Union of being the first organization to engage in red baiting and purges of members for political beliefs.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is pure Irish on both sides of her family, one of her grandfathers having been killed fighting the British and the other having fled to America with a price on his head for having committed sabotage against the government. Virtually the entire life of Elizabeth Flynn has been devoted to radicalism: pure socialism at first, which soon proved too pallid for her tastes, then a period of work with the International Workers of the World, and finally with the "scientific socialism" of Karl Marx and the Communist Party of the United States. Frequently arrested, occasionally jailed, always defiant of authority, passionately devoted to freedom, Elizabeth Flynn is still battling for the establishment of world Communism. She was a charter member of the American Civil Liberties Union, a member of its Board, and joined the Communist Party in 1937. When she faced ouster because of her Communist connections, another violent upheaval was about to rip into the vitals of the A.C.L.U. and deal it a blow from which it has never quite recovered.

On the evening of May 7 1940 the Board considered the fate of Elizabeth Flynn under the purge resolution that had liquidated Harry Ward. Present were: John Haynes Holmes, chairman; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; Lucille Milner; Roger Baldwin; Alfred M. Bingham; Robert W. Dunn; John Finerty; Walter Frank; Nathan Greene; Ben W. Huebsch, vice-president of Viking Press; A. J. Isserman; Corliss Lamont; William L. Nunn; Whitney North Seymour; William B. Spofford; Raymond Wise; Dorothy Dunbar Bromley; Dorothy Kenyon; Albert D. Lasker; Carl Carmer; Morris L. Ernst; Osmond Fraenkel; Arthur Garfield Hayes; Elmer Rice, and Roger William Riis.*

Three charges were read. One called for disqualification as a Board member because of the resolution heretofore described; the second urged her removal because of sarcastic comments she made about the A.C.L.U.

* Milner, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

in the March 19 1940 issue of *New Masses*; and the third was based on equally sarcastic and highly critical comments in her article in the *Daily Worker* on March 17 of the same year. In the midst of the argument and as the heat of the battle reached a fever pitch, Mrs. Flynn exclaimed with astonishing prescience:

*"I object to a 'loyalty oath,' penalizing opinion. . . ."**

Contending that she was exercising her right of free speech when she criticized the A.C.L.U. in her articles and inquiring whether the organization did not still uphold freedom of speech, Mrs. Flynn proved to be a much tougher obstacle than had Dr. Ward. Let us now allow Lucille Milner to tell us what occurred, as we will find very little difference between the type of interrogation put to Mrs. Flynn and the usual questions concerning Communism which governmental committees ask witnesses suspected of being connected with the Communist movement. Incidentally, Mrs. Flynn was not permitted representation by an attorney. Wrote Mrs. Milner:

"Arthur Garfield Hayes, who was acting as the Board's counsel, started the ball rolling with his cross-examination of Elizabeth. We were not to be governed by rules of evidence, the chairman announced at the start, and Art and the others were given free reign to fire any and all questions.

Most of them were about the relation of the American Communist Party to the Third International. Was the Communist Party of America a branch of the Third International? Did the Party here take orders from Moscow; did Elizabeth take orders from the Party. At one point Osmond Fraenkel intervened to protest against a question because it assumed a statement contrary to what Elizabeth had previously testified. But Dr. Holmes came to Art's defense. 'Mr. Hayes can ask his question,' he ruled. 'We are not governed by rules of evidence.'

Elizabeth, who was not allowed counsel to represent her, answered all of the questions clearly and directly. The Communist Party of America is an affiliate of the Third International, not a branch. Delegates from the American Communist Party are sent to the Comintern sometimes, not always; it's not obligatory to send them. Do Russians have free speech? 'I have never been in the Soviet Union,' Elizabeth confessed, 'and it might be that those who have, could better answer that question. But from my reading I would say that in those matters which pertain to their rights and their duties and their economic status, they have even more free speech than we have in some parts of the United States.' "†

The controversy lasted until after midnight, when the vote was taken and resulted in a tie: 9 to 9. The chairman, Dr. Holmes, now had the responsibility to cast the vote to break the deadlock. He voted for the expulsion of Mrs. Flynn, and in commenting on the situation Lucille Milner stated in her book: "It was nothing more than a political inquiry by the Civil Liberties Union. No attempt was made to show that there was anything in our constitution or by-laws that would justify the expulsion of an officer or member of the Board on the basis of his

* Milner, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

† Milner, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-283.

political opinions or beliefs. There was no evidence that Elizabeth's removal was based on any act of disloyalty to the Union or its principles. On the contrary, all the evidence pointed to her long years of service to civil liberties. She was removed only because she belonged to a group at the moment hated. The same results would have been reached whatever she might have been charged with." *

This appears to us as a typically fallible argument. Mrs. Flynn was under strict Party discipline. The U.S.S.R. and the very nature of Communism made that movement poised ready to smash the civil liberties of all who opposed its absolute domination. This was completely contrary to everything the A.C.L.U. stood for—hence her expulsion was not only logical and proper but probably should have occurred much earlier. As we have pointed out, she is now Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States.

We have devoted considerable space to the attitude of the American Civil Liberties Union in adopting its resolution to the effect that no Communists could serve on its staff or as officers of the organization, and we have done this because the whole charge of Communist domination revolves around these controversies and the enactment and implementation of this resolution.

According to the statement which recently appeared in A.C.L.U. literature on the occasion of its fortieth birthday, the 1940 controversy did not amount to so very much, the statement being as follows:

"In 1940," says the A.C.L.U., "a controversy long latent, arose in the Board of Directors over the participation in the Union's affairs by those whose devotion to civil liberties was qualified by other loyalties. On February 5 the Board adopted what was to be known as the 1940 resolution, under which Communists, Fascists, Ku Kluxers, and others failing to meet the 'test of consistency in the defense of civil liberties in all aspects and all places' are barred from the Union's governing council and staff.

Only one person now presented a problem in terms of the resolution—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who had recently become a Communist. She was removed from the Board in accordance with the resolution. Dr. Harry F. Ward, who had relinquished the chairmanship in January 1940, resigned in protest against the adoption of the 1940 resolution." †

But, as we have seen, it wasn't quite that simple. Let us now allow Mrs. Flynn to give her version of the matter, as we have already heard from the secretary of the A.C.L.U. who was present during all of these proceedings. We presume the A.C.L.U. would surely agree that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, despite her status as Chairman of the Communist Party, is entitled to some comment on the matter. This is what she had to say:

"In February 1940, at a meeting of the National Committee, where only eight out of forty-three members were present, with twenty-two voting by proxy, this resolution [forbidding 'Communists and fellow-travelers' from serving on the Board of Directors] was adopted. It was a forerunner of all the 'loyalty' oaths

* Milner, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

† *Civil Liberties*, monthly publication of the A.C.L.U., No. 176, January 1960, p. 3.

that have plagued our country ever since. It held it to be 'inappropriate for any person to serve on the governing committee of the Union or on its staff, who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle.' Then (like the McCarran Act) it built in a verdict of guilt by defining such organizations as the Communist Party, the German American Bund, and all Fascist and Nazi organizations, including the K.K.K.

* * * *

"The thought control section of the Smith Act of 1940 lay dormant during World War II, but it set the pattern for loyalty tests, subversive lists, witch-hunts, the police state McCarran Act, Taft-Hartley oaths, after the war was over. Even the most feeble protest by the A.C.L.U. against any of these invariably met with the devastating question, 'Did you not expel a Communist from your governing board?' They had sanctified thought control. It stultified their opposition to it in other places. The Flynn case was the skeleton in their closet which they probably would like to forget. But life has dragged it into the open on many occasions. Mrs. Milner faces it frankly."

* * * *

"There are many good and sincere members in the A.C.L.U. who are devoted to the defense of the Bill of Rights. Now and again a local representative, like Mr. A. L. Wirin of Los Angeles, plunges vigorously into a free speech struggle, as he has done in three Smith Act cases. But they wage no battles in the valiant and forthright manner they did in the 20's—against repressive measures like the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and loyalty oaths, and McCarran-Walter attacks on the foreign-born. If the outrageous proposition embodied in the last Act, namely for an alien to deport himself or go to prison for ten years, had been proposed in the 20's, the A.C.L.U. would have been in the center of a two-fisted struggle against it. If a traveling circus of professional informers and F.B.I. agents had been star witnesses in political thought control trials of the 20's, as they are now, the A.C.L.U. would have created a tremendous protest. But today it is virtually silent. On the contrary, the degenerative process of the A.C.L.U. has led to a point where one can envisage its defense of informers and stool pigeons. Indeed, one might say there is a perverse logic in the rushing of the multi-perjured informer Crouch to the A.C.L.U. to be defended by it.

What is the reason that the A.C.L.U. is now inactive on all these issues? It is because the A.C.L.U. succumbs to the 'Big Lie' first promulgated by Adolph Hitler. Lately, another anti-Communist resolution was proposed that caused a new furor in the membership, comparable to the protest in my case, and this time brought about the resignation of Dr. Corliss Lamont. It was couched in almost the same language of the McCarran Act, declaring the Communist Party to be part of an international conspiracy. In December, 1953, in an advertisement in *The Nation* the organiza-

tion states: 'The Union fights for the civil liberties even of those anti-democratic opinions it abhors. In order to do so it bars from its governing body all totalitarians of the left and right.' "

"Why did the A.C.L.U. sink so far from its high and honorable position? As the working class movement [i.e. Communism] in our country grew tremendously and the war against fascism created a united front of powerful progressive forces, many of its leaders reverted to type as petit bourgeois-minded upholders of reactionary class interests. So long as there was no danger of working-class advance here and victories on a world scale, they could indulge in their Boy Scout 'good deeds.' But when the 'test of tests' came, to stand up and to be counted, they not only failed, but rushed to the defense, not of labor and the people, not democratic rights, but of the bourgeoisie. Dr. Corliss Lamont, who remained true to his liberal principles, was recently refused to right to speak on the A.C.L.U. platform in Los Angeles because, I understand, a heavy contributor, a big industrialist, objected."

" . . . I have seen no representative of the A.C.L.U. appear even as an observer at our trial here in New York City in 1952, to see if due process was observed, or to help us in our struggle against a stacked jury system. How can they, when they assert they believe in the lies peddled in these trials? When and if the prison door closes on me and I serve a three-year sentence on the Smith Act thought-control conviction, it is the logical conclusion of my expulsion from the A.C.L.U. fourteen years ago. How could they defend me today against the very charges they themselves made then? Their dilemma, which stymies all their attacks on repression, is that they agree with its premises, that the Communists are guilty. They are like those who say they agree with McCarthy's objectives but object to his methods. Usually their protests against his methods end in capitulation to McCarthyism, as the A.C.L.U. capitulated to Dies. I have little hope of the A.C.L.U. measuring up to the needs of the hour, so well described by Mrs. Milner in her conclusion."

"There are new forces, such as the Lawyers' Guild, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Civil Rights Congress, whose valiant leader, William Patterson, is at this writing in jail for refusing to be a stool pigeon. These new forces are carrying on defense of the Bill of Rights today." *

A New Director for the A.C.L.U.

In February 1950 Roger Baldwin retired as national A.C.L.U. director and was succeeded by Patrick Murphy Malin, Professor of Economics at Swarthmore College, and with a record utterly devoid of Communist front affiliation, coupled with an anti-Communist attitude he makes no effort to conceal. Baldwin had been involved in a variety of radical movements, including a rather chaste affair with Commu-

* *Political Affairs*, August 1954, p. 74, et. seq.

nism.† And so, for that matter, had A.C.L.U. staff members at various local chapters been involved in an array of Communist fronts; it was becoming more and more apparent that so long as this sort of thing continued, the A.C.L.U. would be on the receiving end of much legitimate criticism. For when an A.C.L.U. staff member, who has current membership in several Communist fronts and connections with other pro-Communist organizations, appears and insists that a school board allow one of these fronts to use the school auditorium, he clearly brings suspicion on his motive and criticism on the A.C.L.U. Both Baldwin and Malin recognized this fact, and under Malin's direction there has been a tendency to staff the organization with people whose records can give no basis that they are heavily prejudiced in favor of Communism. Unfortunately, in our view, the progress in this direction has been almost imperceptible, and in several places the local A.C.L.U. chapters are loaded with officers and staff members who list perceptibly to port. Despite protests of political tyranny, we believe it is as improper for a man who is currently affiliated with Communist fronts to represent the A.C.L.U. as it would be if he were a member of the John Birch Society or the Ku Klux Klan. And, of course, the same criterion must also apply to legislative committees investigating subversion. The first precaution to insure objectivity is to employ representatives whose records are free from radical affiliations of any kind, for the A.C.L.U. is in the business of representing radicals most of the time.

The Double Standard

As we shall see, the A.C.L.U., under Malin's leadership, has devoted more of its energies to the representation of totalitarian groups and individuals that are not Communist. It has, as we shall see, insisted that Gerald L. K. Smith, the anti-semitic crusader, is entitled to use the facilities of public buildings for the purpose of delivering his lectures; that anti-Communist demonstrators have a right to peacefully picket and to distribute propaganda material; that members of trade union organizations should not be expelled by reason of their advocating "right to work" legislation contrary to the desire of the union to which they belong; that George L. Rockwell of Arlington, Virginia, who has proclaimed himself leader of the American Nazi movement, is entitled to speak in a New York City park.

But this sort of action has created a considerable turmoil among the membership of the A.C.L.U. across the country, letters of protest having been mailed to the local chapters that are directly concerned, and a few of the more volatile and articulate members withdrawing or threatening to withdraw in protest for this single standard attitude. These individuals have contended that while it is proper and desirable to protect the rights of "liberals" and "progressives" (as those terms are used in the peculiar Aesopian language of Communism), the A.C.L.U. should *not* lend its services to the protection of the civil rights of organizations and individuals committed to the opposite ideology, which these protesters term "reactionary," or "imperialist."

William B. Spofford, a "conscientious rebel," and stormy petrel in the Episcopal Church, ran its Church League for Industrial Democracy. He relished working with Communists and was a devoted admirer

† *True Magazine*, April 1961, p. 24.

of the Soviet Union. In 1937 Bishop William T. Manning of New York attacked the C.L.I.D. for its obvious pro-Communist attitude; in 1939 Spofford swallowed the new Party line that emerged as a result of the Soviet-Nazi Non-Agression Pact; his C.I.L.D. publication *Witness* spread more and more Communist propaganda and the C.I.L.D. drew more and more criticism from the Episcopal Church. And when June 22 1941 came along, Spofford was unprepared but unperturbed. This was the date on which the Germans invaded the Soviet Union and smashed the Non-Agression pact, and the Party line switched from collaboration with the Germans to furious hatred toward them, but Spofford switched in conformity with this inconsistent change in the international Party line.

After the war Spofford claimed that civil liberties should be denied to "undesirable" elements, and resigned from the A.C.L.U. because it defended the civil rights of Gerald L. K. Smith.*

In 1947 the C.I.L.D. changed its name to the Episcopal League for Social Action. Spofford resigned as executive secretary in 1951, but was replaced by Kenneth Ripley Forbes, who was probably worse. He had been active in at least four Communist front organizations, was 73 years of age, and carried on where Spofford left off with renewed enthusiasm. Today the Episcopal League for Social Action is an isolated clique, dominated by pro-Communists and a disgrace to the Church it purports to represent.

Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, whose Communist front record is massive, adopted the same double standard of civil liberties for those he liked, and a denial of them for those he opposed. *The Unitarian Register* of January 1946, which included an interview with the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlitt Johnson, sometimes referred to as the Red Dean of Canterbury, also carried an editorial by the Reverend Fritchman which criticized the Civil Liberties Union for presuming to defend the right of free speech for Gerald L. K. Smith. He said: "Can any Unitarian read the words of our American Fascists and feel these things must be given free expression until they reach the stage that Europeans know too well, of cutting tongues and gassing ministers in Dachau?"

The first individual to defend the A.C.L.U. in the letter column of the *Register* was John Haynes Holmes, New York minister and then president of the A.C.L.U. William B. Spofford Sr., rushed to applaud Fritchman's position as 'sound'.†

Not only Fritchman and Spofford objected to civil rights for all; many others wrote angry letters when the A.C.L.U. went to the aid of other totalitarians besides the Communists. Thus when the plane that brought Anastas Mikoyan to Los Angeles in 1959, a group of Hungarian Freedom Fighters were present with anti-Communist literature to distribute in protest of this representative of the world Communist movement being received by the United States and permitted to tour the country. Los Angeles City police officers took the literature, the Freedom Fighters protested, and the A.C.L.U. in Southern California filed a suit in their behalf against Los Angeles City Chief of Police William

* *Communism and the Churches*, by Ralph Lord Roy. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1960, pp. 325, 333, 334, 364 et. seq.

† Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

Parker. There was an immediate reaction, and letters of protest were received both in the Los Angeles and San Francisco offices of the A.C.L.U. criticizing the organization for coming to the defense of the anti-Communist Hungarian refugees. One of these letters appeared in the *A.C.L.U. News*, issued in San Francisco in March of 1959, and prompted some penetrating remarks by Professor Seymour Martin Lipset, who teaches sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, as follows:

"The fact that you received protests about A.C.L.U. action in this case suggests that the A.C.L.U. still faces the problem that beset it at an earlier period of having members and alleged supporters who are basically not the least bit interested in civil liberties. These are individuals who are interested in civil liberties for themselves, who believe in defending the civil liberties of Communists, or in protesting legislative action which might in some way possibly be directed against Communists. These same individuals see no issues of civil liberties arising in the Soviet Union or Hungary. They also see no issues of civil liberties arising in this country when action is taken by the authorities against anti-Communist groups. One must never forget that the Communist Party itself and various trade unions under its control supported the first prosecution under the Smith Act in 1940 which was directed against Trotskyites in Minneapolis. As long as anti-subversive legislation was used against Trotskyites the Communist Party not only had no objections, but supported the Department of Justice's prosecutions. And apparently there are many individuals still left in this country who are willing to support the brutal use of police power when it is directed against Hungarian refugees."

Professor Lipset concluded his letter by declaring that:

"In my opinion it is a major disgrace that other Americans did not protest Mikoyan's presence in our country."*

The Harvey Matusow Case

We have mentioned Harvey Matusow in connection with the leader of Americans for Democratic Action, and we did so because of the tendency of ultra-liberal organizations to attack official agencies in the field of internal security, and for the purpose of showing that a few members of these unofficial agencies that undertake to preserve our civil liberties sometimes became so one-sided and fanatic in their zeal to attack the entire government security system and destroy the credibility of former Communists who seek to help us in that regard, that they engage in the most reprehensible practices.

In January 1959, the Matusow matter drew yet another fanatic defender of civil liberties into its influence and worked his ruin. Lawrence Siegel, a lawyer of New York City and Hollywood, first met Matusow in 1950. The latter had gone to the F.B.I., told of his experiences in the Communist Party and offered to testify for the government. He appeared before some committees, his testimony was found to be irresponsible and he was discredited. In the meantime the Party was at-

* *American Civil Liberties Union News*, San Francisco, April 1959, p. 2.

tacking him with that particular kind of venom especially reserved for informers. By 1952 Matusow was broke. He tried, without success, to get aid and comfort from the government. Then he decided to turn again to the Party and offered to declare publicly that he had double-crossed his old comrades at the government's insistence. But first he went to see G. Bromley Oxnam for sympathy and guidance. Then he turned to Nathan Witt. In the latter he found a willing and able sympathizer, as Witt was the attorney for the Communist-dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and had been in various Communist fronts with influential fellow-travelers and Party members: in the Harry Bridges Defense Committee with Paul Robeson, Morris Carnovsky, John Howard Lawson, Prof. Frank Weymouth, Virginia Gardner, and Philip M. Connelley; in the International Juridical Association with George R. Anderson, Leo Gallagher, Aubrey Grossman, Robert W. Kenny, A. L. Wirin, Carey McWilliams, Sr., and Lee Pressman; he had taught at the Communist school in New York* with Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Alexander Trachtenberg, Bella V. Dodd, Prof. Walter Gelhorn, Corliss Lamont, Lee Pressman, and Morris U. Schappes; he had belonged to the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties with Carey McWilliams Sr., Bella V. Dodd, Paul Robeson, Morris Carnovsky, Langston Hughes, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Leo Gallagher, and G. Bromley Oxnam; to the National Lawyers Guild with George R. Anderson, Leo Gallagher, Richard Gladstein, Aubrey Grossman, Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams, Sr., and A. L. Wirin.

Witt sent Matusow a notch farther down the ladder on his way back to the Communist Party by placing him in contact with John McTernan of Los Angeles. This attorney made an arrangement to have him see Angus Cameron of the publishing firm of Cameron and Kahn of New York City. In the meantime, Witt had persuaded his client, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, to contribute \$1000 toward the project and Matusow started to write his exposé. The book, *False Witness*, appeared in 1955. Its author was promptly indicted for perjury, tried, and convicted. This trial, like the trial of Paul Hughes, led to the exposure of the lengths to which Lawrence Siegel would go to undermine the government's security program and its use of informants.

It developed that in 1954, Matusow had gone to Siegel's law office and the lawyer declared that he had preserved certain office memoranda showing that Matusow had, indeed, been pressured by government agents into giving false testimony about the Communist Party and its members. Now, of course, if such a preposterous thing could be proved it would strike a blow against public confidence in our entire security system—so that is precisely what Siegel tried to do. But the grand jury demanded that the memoranda be produced, and it was given a book of shorthand notes. Under the insistence of U. S. Attorney Bolan, Siegel and his secretary, Miss Hadassah Shapiro, were forced to admit that these purported notes were pure forgeries concocted to bolster up Matusow the perjurer and to make a vicious effort to undermine the integrity of our institutions fighting against internal subversion. Siegel was found guilty of perjury and of obstructing justice,

* Jefferson School of Social Science.

was disbarred, fined, and given a suspended term in prison. At the time he was chairman of the New York A.C.L.U.'s Committee on Academic Freedom. He was also attorney for the magazine edited by Carey McWilliams, Sr., *The Nation*.

Guilt by Anticipation

Yet another instance of zeal obscuring ethics was revealed when the United States Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security announced that it intended to hold a hearing in 1956 to reveal the extent of Communist infiltration in the press. Even before the hearing opened, the A.C.L.U. charged that it was prompted by an ulterior motive: a desire to retaliate against reporters and papers for their persistent criticism of the subcommittee. "No direct evidence," confessed the A.C.L.U., "has been disclosed to support this view, but we believe that the subcommittee should take special care to avoid even the impression that it is using its power to punish newspaper editorial policy or the individual stories of reporters." This premature impugning of the subcommittee's motives before the hearing opened was obviously born of emotionalism and general antagonism toward the subcommittee rather than from any sense of fair play. It certainly would have been wiser—and more ethical—to at least wait until the evidence was in.*

In California the A.C.L.U. has repeatedly manifested this type of over-zealous activity that has also tended to obscure its sense of ethics and to lead it into fields that come dangerously close to active collaboration with subversive organizations. Thus in 1948 we undertook a hearing in San Diego based on long investigation and which involved the use of a large number of witnesses and informants who were undercover members of the Communist organization. This was a time of great dissension in the Communist ranks throughout California. Harrison George, former foreign news editor of the *Daily People's World* in San Francisco, a dedicated Communist since the twenties, an accomplished Marxist theoretician and a man who was widely respected by his comrades throughout the state, ran head on into the tough, unyielding discipline of William Schneiderman who had been the top official for District 13 of the Communist Party for many years. Eventually Harrison George was summoned before the Control and Review Commission—the disciplinary unit of the Party—and forced out of the organization. He then wrote a book called *The Crisis in the Communist Party*. This is now a collector's item, but it enjoyed wide though surreptitious circulation throughout the Communist ranks in this state by a super-secret little group that called itself "The Committee of Correspondence."

This publication by Harrison George pointed out the glaring defects in the operation of the Party apparatus in this state and led to the defection of still others who were convinced that his criticisms were legitimate. The Party organization in San Diego County had long been on a shaky basis, and the organizers † had been changed several times for the purpose of achieving a semblance of discipline and stability. It was, consequently, a relatively simple matter to develop accurate sources of information inside the Party ranks, not only through informants that were already giving us information but from still other informants

* *National Review*, January 18, 1956, p. 4.

† The top officials in a local Communist Party apparatus.

who were developed because of their disillusionment with the officers sent in to whip them into line.

At this time it is well to explain that the several informants working in a Communist apparatus or other subversive organization are not known to each other and their reports are not only checked against one another, but are also checked against independent sources of information so that there is an extremely remote possibility that misinformation can be disseminated by double agents. The hearing was eminently successful; there were more defections from the Party. But from sources of unimpeachable accuracy the Committee learned that two representatives from the American Civil Liberties Union in Los Angeles had attended a Communist Party meeting in San Diego in November 1948, undertook to raise funds for the witnesses who had been summoned before the Committee, declaring that: "... the drive against Communism constitutes the greatest threat to civil liberties in this country."

The A.C.L.U. has antagonized police departments and law enforcement officers generally throughout the state by advocating the establishment of a police review board in Los Angeles and other large cities for the purpose of monitoring the activities of the department. Representatives of the A.C.L.U., including one member of its board of directors, aroused suspicion by speaking about the matter to the National Lawyers Guild in Southern California and soliciting the support of that Communist-dominated organization in the project.* In addition, the program of the A.C.L.U. to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the fact that many of its officers and staff members, despite the resolution forbidding sympathizers with totalitarian ideologies from holding such positions, have formidable records of Communist front affiliations; the fact that Communists are permitted to join the American Civil Liberties Union, although they do not have the right to vote for officers or take an open part in the conduct of the affairs of the organization; its insistence that controversial figures, including prominent members of the Communist Party, be permitted to appear and speak on campuses of the State University and that a long-standing prohibition against the dissemination of any kind of propaganda material on the campuses of the University of California be rescinded—all of these facts have led to charges of Communist domination against the A.C.L.U. and raised suspicion concerning the purity of its motives. While looking with a somewhat jaundiced eye on rightist organizations that presume to whip up mass letter writing campaigns in support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other legislative committees operating against domestic subversion, the Southern California A.C.L.U. publication prints on the front page in a prominent box surrounded by a black border a feature entitled: "Call to Action," exhorting its members and supporters to do precisely the same thing for the purpose of having the House Committee discontinued. Thus in the issue of *The Open Forum* for February 1961 the "Call for Action" urged such a letter-writing campaign for the members as follows:

"The following action assignments are urged upon every Southern California A.C.L.U. member as a minimum effort in February toward our legislative goal. 1) Write to your own congressman

* *Los Angeles Fire and Police Protective League News*, April 15, 1960, pp. 1-5.

urging his support of Rep. James Roosevelt's effort to reduce the budget of the House Un-American Activities Committee. 2) Write to your assemblyman urging him to vote against all bills that would repeal the Cahan and Priestly rules and dilute constitutional protections of rules of arrest, evidence, and search and seizure. DO IT TODAY!"

For several years the Subversive Activities Control Board has been receiving evidence concerning the charge that the Communist Party of the United States was in fact affiliated with and controlled by the world Communist movement with headquarters in the Soviet Union, and that all members of the American Communist Party should therefore be required to register in conformity with the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

Once before the Subversive Activities Control Board had decided that Communist Party members should be required to so register, but the Supreme Court believed that some of the testimony was unreliable and that the case should be reconsidered. Accordingly the Board patiently and laboriously went over the matter again, threw out the testimony of the witnesses the high court deemed irresponsible, and arrived at precisely the same conclusion: that the American Communist Party was a part and parcel of the world Communist movement and its members should therefore be required to register in conformity with the 1950 act. Now that the matter is again before the United States Supreme Court, the A.C.L.U. filed its brief last September and asked the court to declare the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 unconstitutional in that it required public registration of Communist action organizations, contending that "the registration provision interferes with free exchange of political opinions and the freedom of peaceful political association which are guaranteed by the first amendment. . . that the law impedes open presentation of ordinary non-revolutionary opinions on social and political topics 'far removed from incitement to violence or any other danger that Congress has the power to prevent.' Regardless of what may be the Communist Party's ultimate objectives," the A.C.L.U. said, "the Party expresses opinion on a variety of questions, such as labor relations, race discrimination, and control of atomic weapons. The law seeks to 'obstruct the Party and its members when they express themselves and seek to influence others on these non-revolutionary issues.'"

In the event that the Supreme Court sees fit to follow the theory of the A.C.L.U., the Subversive Activities Control Act will be rendered completely ineffective in protecting this country against Communist subversion, and the Subversive Activities Control Board might as well pick up its papers and close up its shop. This matter of allowing the very constitutionality of the Act and the Subversive Activities Control Board to go dangling in the air for several years while the Board devoted an enormous amount of time and energy and money to the taking of reams of evidence for the purpose of determining whether or not Communist Party membership should be registered in accordance with the act, is obviously ridiculous. It doesn't take a very good lawyer to exercise sufficient common sense to understand that the constitution-

* *Civil Liberties*, Monthly Publication of the American Civil Liberties Union, October 1960, p. 3.

ality of the act should be placed at issue first, the legality of the Subversive Activities Control Board firmly established, and then it should go about its business of protecting the country against infiltration and subversion by those dedicated to our downfall. It should not be forced to function in an atmosphere of uncertainty, and with the legal sword of Damocles hanging over its existence ready to drop at any instant and thereby put an end to all of the work the Board has done for the past several years.

Censorship of the mails, the distribution of alleged pornographic printed materials, compulsory military training for men students at the State University, preservation of academic freedom in educational institutions of all descriptions, opposition to state laws barring birth control devices, and consistent opposition to most of the government's security program, including opposition to all legislative committees investigating subversion—these matters have all been targets of attention for the A.C.L.U. and have aroused both support for it and resentment against it throughout the country.

Before the resignation of Executive Director Roger Baldwin, and particularly during the first decade of the organization's existence, it exhibited a far greater tolerance toward the Communist Party and Communist activities in general—this sort of predominant activity for the relief of the Communist Party and its satellite front organizations, together with the fact that a great many officers and staff members of the organization in Southern California had formidable front records themselves, led this Committee to describe the A.C.L.U. in its 1943 report as a Communist front organization, and a transmission belt for Communism in the following language:

"The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization. At least 90% of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law. While it professes to stand for free speech, a free press, and free assembly, it is quite obvious that its main function is to protect Communists in their activities of force and violence in their program to overthrow the government." *

In our 1948 report we also devoted considerable attention to the American Civil Liberties Union, as follows:

"During the Stalin-Hitler pact, the American Civil Liberties Union suddenly took the position that persons who support 'totalitarian dictatorship' in any country can give nothing more than a tongue-in-cheek allegiance to civil liberties in the United States. Although the American Civil Liberties Union was organized in 1920 and has been defending Communists for over twenty years while the 'totalitarian dictatorship' was in ruthless operation denying elementary rights to the citizens of Russia, it took the Stalin-Hitler pact to awaken the organization.

The resolution adopted by the American Civil Liberties Union, however, was discouraging to the California Legislative Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in California. While its philosophy and its activities plus its Communist and Commu-

* 1943 Committee Report, p. 92.

nist Party traveling membership placed the organization indisputably in the Stalinite solar system, the action of 1940, on the surface, indicated that the loyal element within the American Civil Liberties Union was about to capture the organization for American purposes. The *Daily Worker* for March 19, 1940, carried the text of a letter signed by 17 alleged 'liberal leaders' addressed to the American Civil Liberties Union. These alleged 'liberal leaders' asked some embarrassing and pertinent questions: 'The phrasing of the resolution is dangerous,' declared the 17. 'Its context is worse. The Civil Liberties Union was founded in 1920. The Soviet Union was established in 1917, and with it the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' We are told that Communists are to be barred from office or employment in the Civil Liberties Union because, while fighting for civil liberties in America, they accept their suppression in Russia. Why then, did the Civil Liberties Union wait until 1940 before seeking to bar them?' The letter goes on to state: 'But civil liberties within the Soviet Union were no different before the pact than after. One could not print an opposition paper in Moscow in August, 1939, before the pact, or after it, in September, 1939.'

When it is remembered that the U.S. Communists under directive of the Kremlin were vigorously supporting the Stalin-Hitler Pact while Hitler and Stalin were looting Europe, the Communist character of the seventeen 'liberal leaders' becomes obvious. Their letter continues: 'Could it be that the majority of the national committee and board of directors of the Civil Liberties Union is taking sides in the developing of European conflict? Is their real objection an objection to the position of the Soviet Union in that conflict? Has that question anything to do with the need for defending civil liberties in America? . . . The Civil Liberties Union was formed in 1920 to fight post-war hysteria. It would be a great pity if it were now to be a victim of prewar hysteria.'

Among the seventeen 'liberal leaders' signing this letter were two high officials in the executive branch of the United States Government, namely Robert Morss Lovett and Henry T. Hunt, both of whom were employees of the Department of Interior. I. F. Stone and James Wechsler were connected with the Washington bureau of Marshall Field's leftwing newspaper *P.M.* William F. Cochran, also a signer of the letter, is a millionaire real estate operator in Baltimore. All of the seventeen signers have been constant supporters of the Communist Party, its leaders, and various front organizations. John T. Bernard, Prof. Franz Boas, Howard Costigan, Theodore Dreiser, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Rev. Dr. A. T. Mollegan, Prof. C. Fayette Taylor, Charles S. Ascher, Gardner Jackson, and Maxwell S. Stewart.

Undoubtedly the American Civil Liberties Union was resorting to drastic Communist strategy in retreating during the Stalin-Hitler pact. This fact is strongly indicated by the personnel of the National Committee and the Board of Directors in 1946. On the letter of the American Civil Liberties Union signed by A. A.

Heist for September, 1946, we find many of the seventeen so-called 'liberal leaders' listed."

In 1948 the committee found no reason to disagree with the findings that had been made in 1943. It concluded its statement concerning the A.C.L.U. as follows:

"The Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities reiterates the findings of former legislative committees concerning the Communist character of the American Civil Liberties Union. The International Labor Defense, called 'the legal arm of the Communist party' by former Attorney General Francis Biddle, has not established a better Communist record than this thinly-disguised organization that devotes its energies to the defense of enemies of the United States.

The Committee has stated in previous reports at all Communist fronts are characterized by the fact that many of the individuals attracted to such organizations are not necessarily Communists, and, in many cases, the membership of a Communist front organization will be composed, for the greater part, of non-Communists. This same finding applies, of course, to the American Civil Liberties Union. Ernest Besig, the director of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, appears to be a sincere, conscientious American, whose reasoning leads him to the defense of most anyone, regardless of the accusation. Ernest Besig, however, has, on several occasions, expressed himself concerning Communists and Communism. He testified before a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities in Fairfax, October 23, 1947. He identified the official organ of the Northern Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union for February and March, 1941, in which he had unequivocally stamped the Northern California Council for Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties a Communist front. He orally reiterated his written statement. His testimony, in part, is as follows:

Q. (Mr. Combs) . . . The American Civil Liberties Union publishes a number of papers. I am speaking of the branch of the organization of which you are a member.

A. That's correct.

Q. What is the name of that publication?

A. The American Civil Liberties Union *News*.

Q. Did you publish such a paper in February, 1941?

A. Yes. It's in its twelfth year, so we must have.

Q. (Mr. Combs): Now in connection with the issues for February, 1941, and March, 1941, there are some statements concerning one of the organizations I mentioned a while ago, the Northern California Council for Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties I believe.

A. Do you want to know what I think of that organization?

Q. I know what you think of it. You said so in your paper.

A. I said so not only in the paper but in speeches, and as a result the chairman of this group (Northern California Council for

Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties) sent a protest to my committee.

Q. Well, you think the organization was definitely a Communist front?

A. Undoubtedly; and undoubtedly also, it got a lot of innocent people involved in it.

Q. As Communist fronts are set up to do.

A. Correct.

Q. Now, how did you arrive at the conclusion that this particular organization was a Communist front?

A. Well, after you've been in this business of civil liberties for the number of years that I have been in it, you come across certain individuals who, as you indicated with Mr. Flaxer, get involved in first one organization and then another. That was true of the Committee on Academic Freedom. Louise Branston had been connected with a number of front organizations and seemed to shift around.* "

This testimony from the director of the American Civil Liberties Union in Northern California, and who is still serving in that capacity, provides a pretty good test of a Communist front organization. We applied that test in 1943 and 1948 to the officers, staff members and announced policies of the American Civil Liberties Union in California and decided that it was under Communist domination. That was before Patrick Malin assumed control, and before the national organization re-affirmed its opposition to totalitarianism whether on the extreme right or extreme left, and bolstered up its 1940 resolution against permitting members of the Communist Party or its supporters from serving the A.C.L.U. in any official capacity. Prior to 1950 the publications of the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California were little different than propaganda sheets similar to those issued by the Communist Party itself. Since that time there has been a marked improvement, and in 1959, without any solicitation from any source, we had this to say:

"In previous reports we have traced the origin and development of the American Civil Liberties Union as a national organization. We have also, from time to time, discussed the activities of its branches in San Francisco and Los Angeles. During the middle thirties and for a short period in 1946 and 1947, we received evidence that we believed justified the statements appearing in our 1943 and 1948 reports to the effect that the American Civil Liberties Union in California had become a transmission belt for the dissemination of Communist propaganda. We do not believe that the American Civil Liberties Union nationally is in any sense subversive; a part of its function is the protection of civil liberties of all people, regardless of the fact that some of them may be members of the Communist Party or other subversive organizations. The American Civil Liberties Union has also defended the right of Gerald L. K. Smith to make public addresses, and during the

* 1948 Committee Report, pp. 107-112.

last war it performed similar services in defending the rights of members of the German-American Bund, especially on the Pacific Coast and particularly in California. The Southern California Chapter of this organization has, however, devoted an unusually large part of its time and energies to the protection and defense of Communist Party members and to the support of Communist organizations and fronts.

It is difficult to make a firm and permanent evaluation of an organization like the Southern California Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. As its personnel fluctuates, so does the ideological character of the institution itself. The national organization has a policy that no member of the Communist Party can hold an office. This move, obviously motivated because of a realization that the Communist Party is a subversive organization and that it poses a constant and deadly menace to the preservation of all of our cherished institutions, has not been renegeted by the activities of its Southern California branch in recent years. We make no criticism, of course, because the Los Angeles Chapter, like the other chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union, protects the civil rights of Communists as well as other people. It is a fact, however, that in addition to carrying out the regular functions of the organization, some of its representatives and some of its officers have persistently attended Communist front meetings, have joined many Communist fronts, and have participated at banquets and receptions honoring some of the leading Communists of the United States. Such activities are hardly in conformity with the anti-Communist policy of the national organization and most of its chapters throughout the United States.

Several years ago a school teacher in the Northern part of the State was accused of being subversive by a radio commentator whose broadcast alleged that she was a member of the United World Federalists, which he described as a Communist-dominated organization. As a result of these broadcasts and criticism the teacher was discharged. She brought a suit for reinstatement and for damages against the commentator and the radio station that employed him, and a representative of this Committee went to San Francisco as an expert witness. He testified that we had never listed the United World Federalists as a subversive organization, had no evidence that it was Communist-controlled, and that we did have evidence that it was *not* a Communist front. Such an organization is an obvious target for Communist infiltration, but by the same token, so is the American Civil Liberties Union, because it espouses the defense of unpopular causes and members of unpopular organizations; and so is every trade union because through control of industry a country can be paralyzed; and so is every educational institution because they are lush fields for indoctrination and recruiting and provide further intellectual leadership for the Communist Party. Some chapters of the national organization may be penetrated at one time or another to such an extent that they become transmission belts for the Communist Party line; at the same time, other chapters of the same organization may be militantly anti-Communist. One of the most

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militantly anti-Communist chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union, indeed, is situated in Washington, D.C., and the National Director of the A.C.L.U., Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin, is certainly no friend of Communism. The Los Angeles Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, by permitting its officers and official representatives to participate in Communist front meetings and propaganda activities, is hardly being objective; and if it resents charges of partiality toward the extreme Left, these criticisms are generated by its own activities and it has no one to blame but itself."*

The A.C.L.U. in California Since 1948

We have previously stated that for a short period in 1946 and 1947 the Los Angeles A.C.L.U. was under powerful Communist influence. The Party had reached its greatest strength at this time, with a national roster of formal members mounting to between 85,000 and 100,000 persons and with many times that number of fellow travelers and sympathizers. The front organizations were flourishing, and the Communists were bold and active. The Party's influence on the A.C.L.U. in Southern California continued until after the retirement of Roger Baldwin and the election of Patrick Malin as National Director. Since that time the Communist influence on the southern California A.C.L.U. has diminished.

We reach this conclusion because the Board of Directors of the A.C.L.U. has refused to yield to Communist pressure insisting that it offer its protection and assistance to groups favored by the Party and withhold it from these persons and organizations the Party opposes; in a policy of accepting legal services only from non-Communist lawyers; in refusing to offer legal assistance to Communist defendants in the Los Angeles Smith Act prosecutions; in the decrease of the number of Board members with records of Communist front affiliation, and in the re-affirmation of purpose of the A.C.L.U. adopted by National Board of the American Civil Liberties Union, February 1954. This reaffirmation, which is reminiscent of the reaffirmation of loyalty prescribed by the Los Angeles City Board of Education several years ago, and which met with a storm of protest from the radically liberal circles, provided, in part, as follows:

"Mindful of its responsibilities as a voluntary association of free citizens and in furtherance of its declared principles and purposes to defend the civil liberties of any person in the United States, we today reaffirm the policy of the American Civil Liberties Union not to have as an officer, board member, committee member, or staff member, national or local, any person who does not believe in civil liberties, or who accepts the discipline of any political party or organization which does not believe in civil liberties or which is under the control or direction of any totalitarian government, whether Communist or Fascist, which itself does not believe in civil liberties or in practice crushes civil liberties. The facts regarding any such matter must themselves be the subject of responsible and appropriate consideration in fair procedures. It is the continuing responsibility and policy of the American Civil

* 1959 Committee Report, pp. 144-146.

Liberties Union vigorously to defend the civil liberties of any person however unpopular that person or his views might be and regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race, or nationality to which that person may belong."

We also point out, although the situation should be apparent, that since 1956 the numerical strength of the Communist Party in the United States has greatly diminished. As we explained in our last report, this does not mean that the influence of the Party has diminished or that its efforts at infiltration and propaganda have abated. Due to years of persistent exposure by investigating committees and the United States Department of Justice, Communist front organizations have largely disappeared; the Party has been compelled to operate from underground positions with only a few of its publicly known activists permitted to emerge above the surface when the occasion demands. We have seen instances of this in San Francisco during the demonstrations against the House Committee in May of 1960 when Mickey Lima, Saul Wachter, Archie Brown, and Merle Brodsky staged a typical Communist propaganda and agitation show, abetted by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, both represented by Frank Wilkinson, who was exposed as a Communist by this Committee in connection with its investigation of infiltration in the Los Angeles City Housing Authority in 1952. This absence of overt activity on the part of the Communist Party and its front organizations has not provided the A.C.L.U. with the same abundance of civil rights matters involving Communism that concerned it a few years ago.

The influence of Director Patrick Murphy Malin has been felt by every A.C.L.U. local organization in the country. The chairman of this committee, Senator Burns, and its counsel, R. E. Combs, conferred with Mr. Malin some time ago and found him to be a forthright, courageous, sincere man who left no room for the slightest doubt concerning his positive opposition to Communism and his concern about Communist efforts to infiltrate the A.C.L.U.

The A.C.L.U. in Los Angeles and San Francisco

The executive director, the chairman, or the counsel for any organization, if he has occupied the position for a period of years, inevitably exerts a profound influence on the activities of the organization through the impact of his own characteristics. Roger Baldwin guided the destinies of the A.C.L.U. nationally from its inception until 1950. Patrick Malin, for the past ten years, has exerted a marked influence on its national character. In San Francisco and in Los Angeles the executive director and counsel respectively for the two organizations have been functioning for a period of many years and have also left the distinct mark of their personalities on the two organizations. In San Francisco the veteran director of the A.C.L.U. is Ernest Besig. He has been an outspoken anti-Communist, is inclined to adopt a tough, brusque attitude, and has never been a member of a Communist front organization so far as we are aware.

This is probably as good a place as any to make it very clear that while we do not agree with most of the policies and activities of the

A.C.L.U., and although all of the members of this Committee and its Counsel were subjected to a strenuous law suit at the instigation of the San Francisco A.C.L.U., we are convinced that it is not a Communist dominated organization or a subversive front in any sense. As a matter of fact, Mr. Besig has been a target for considerable criticism from both the right and the left, and typical of the resentment from a progressive organization is a letter which in December of 1955 was sent to all of the members of the Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California, signed by Mr. Robert H. Sicular and which read, in part, as follows:

"I am a member of the Veterans Civil Liberties Committee. From time to time, it has come to our attention that persons whom we have asked for some form of aid or cooperation have made inquiries of the A.C.L.U. office in San Francisco and have received the impression that the A.C.L.U. officially regards us as some sort of 'Communist' or 'subversive' organization; and that the A.C.L.U. officially recommends that the inquirer's support should be withheld."

The writer then explained the nature of the organization which he represented, stated that it was composed of young veterans who had received undesirable discharges from the Armed Forces for matters not related to their service and was dedicated to the correction of what it considered injustice and oppression in the Armed Forces Security Program. He then continued:

"Feeling sure that the reports of the A.C.L.U. position on our organization must be due to some misunderstanding, I telephoned your director, Mr. Ernest Besig, and asked for an interview with him. I had that interview on November 23 and am sorry to report that Mr. Besig treated me with a decided lack of ordinary courtesy. He barely permitted me to state what I had come for and gave me no opportunity at all to discuss the matter dispassionately, as I had hoped and intended. He informed me, very brusquely indeed, that my organization was a 'Communist front' and he intended to continue to say anything he pleased about it. He then got up and walked to the door. He also stated to me that my organization was 'fighting the issue on a class basis.' When I asked him to show me any evidence of this, he answered by opening the door and informing me that he was a very busy man."

Under the McCarran Act—unless and until the Supreme Court holds it unconstitutional—"Communist fronts" are subject to very serious legal penalties and disabilities. To spread such a charge against an organization is, under the existing circumstances, only a shade less serious in its implication than spreading reports that a named individual is guilty of some serious crime with which he has not been officially charged."

Since this letter from Mr. Sicular went to every member of the Executive Committee and also to Mr. Besig, and since a member of the Committee made the same available to us, we quote from it for the purpose of showing that sometimes a local chapter of the A.C.L.U.—which assuredly has no official status—arrogates to itself the responsibility

of making investigations and determinations of the subversive character of various organizations, and that it is extremely ill-equipped to perform this sort of extracurricular activity. And we also quote from the letter for the purpose of showing that Mr. Besig is not only an anti-Communist but has very little hesitation about saying so. His tendency to rush precipitously into any situation which seems to involve a civil liberties issue has led to considerable wonder on the part of university administrators, employers, and others concerning why Mr. Besig does not talk things over first and act afterwards. He demonstrated this characteristic a few months ago in connection with the student demonstration against the continuance of the Reserve Officers Training Corps Program at the University of California at Berkeley. The alumni magazine described his activities in the following language:

"Enraged, stormy Ernest Besig, Northern California American Civil Liberties Union chairman [sic], offered legal support to any student academically penalized for participation in the demonstration. Besig also fired missile-like letters to Malloy and to university officials questioning 'what authority the Army and Air Force R.O.T.C. has' over student activities outside the classroom." *

A. L. Wirin was born in Russia, came to the United States when he was an infant, attended primary schools in Massachusetts, majored in philosophy and economics at Harvard, received his law degree from Boston College. After graduating he engaged for a short while in social work both in Boston and in Brooklyn, New York, then came to Los Angeles to practice his profession. At first he specialized in bankruptcy cases, but his interest soon switched to matters involving alleged infringements of civil rights; this avocation brought Wirin in close contact not only with the seamy side of life among the minority groups of Los Angeles, but also into association with members of the Communist Party, who professed to have the same altruistic interest in the rights of the underprivileged.

In 1934 Wirin signed a petition to qualify the Communist Party for a place on the ballot in California; in 1935 he was appointed counsel to the National Labor Relations Board; in 1937 he acted as counsel to the La Follette Committee of Congress which undertook to investigate alleged violations of civil rights throughout the country; in 1938 he became associated with Leo Gallagher and Grover Johnson, Communist lawyers in Los Angeles who represented the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the world Communist movement. Wirin left the firm because he was in disagreement with its policies and refused to follow the Party line in civil rights cases.

He became a counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California in 1933, and during the entire period of the early thirties he was associated with many Communist fronts, signed many petitions that were Communist inspired, and was in constant contact with the top brass of the Party. He acted as attorney for William Schneiderman, and when some cases involving subversive persons or organizations were turned down by the A.C.L.U., Wirin would frequently take them independently, and it was often confusing to follow the rather complicated pattern of his court appearances.

* *California Monthly*, February 1961, p. 16.

In 1933 he became involved in a lettuce strike in Imperial Valley, was captured by vigilantes, beaten and sent back to Los Angeles. In the same year he appeared as *amicus curiae* at Visalia in a murder case arising from a cotton strike, and he returned a few years later to defend a contempt case arising from a witness' refusal to obey a subpoena issued by the legislature's first committee on un-American activities, then known as the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee.

When Lucille Milner returned from Europe in 1934, she describes her meeting with Wirin as follows:

"Al Wirin, a young lawyer from the West Coast who had been in charge while I was in Europe and Roger [Baldwin] away on vacation, greeted me excitedly as I stepped into the office and announced that not since the days of A. Mitchell Palmer † had there been so flagrant a trampling of civil rights. Al, though able, was inclined to be somewhat sensational." *

We must once again stress the importance of a date: June 22, 1941, the day the Germans violated the Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union and invaded that country. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Party line abruptly reversed itself overnight. Whereas there had been amicable collaboration between the Communists on the one hand and the Germans and their Japanese allies on the other, after this significant date there was implacable hatred between them. Anyone who collaborated with the class enemy after this significant date was regarded as a traitor to world Communism.

In 1942 the Western Defense Command of the United States Army ordered all persons of Japanese descent excluded from the area and ten Relocation Centers were established for the purpose of receiving them. Wirin thereupon announced his intention, as A.C.L.U. counsel, of testing the legality of this order and was promptly informed by the top officials of the C.I.O. in California, principally Philip M. Connelley, the State C.I.O. president, and Lew Michner, his lieutenant—both Communists—that if he proceeded that he would be fired as counsel for the California C.I.O. He proceeded with the matter and he was discharged as the C.I.O. counsel. At the same time he severed his connection with Messrs. Gallagher and Johnson and commenced the practice of the law on his own, devoting most of his time to his work as attorney for the A.C.L.U.‡ From that time, throughout the duration of the war, Wirin appeared both as an individual and as attorney for the A.C.L.U. on behalf of many pro-Japanese, pro-Nazi individual organizations such as the Friends of Progress, members of the German-American Bund, C. Leon de Aryan, David Baxter, and Mankind United, to name a few. After the C.I.O. became alarmed over the extent to which the Communist Party had taken control of its unions that were of strategic significance to the Communist Party, it commenced to conduct its own investigations and clean house. The unions that were most heavily infiltrated—in fact, captured—by the Communists were expelled from the C.I.O. national organization. Wirin was again employed as counsel for many of the C.I.O. unions in the Southern part of the State. He was immediately faced with a battle against the Communist ele-

* Milner, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226.

† United States Attorney General who directed raids against the Communist Party.

‡ Los Angeles Labor Herald, August 7, 1942.

ments to determine whether the anti-Communist C.I.O. unions held title to the C.I.O. building in Los Angeles or whether the pro-Communist unions could establish their legal claim to its possession. The matter that set the controversy in motion was the proposal by the ousted unions to hold a dance in the building for the benefit of a Communist paper. Wirin immediately filed an injunction to prevent such use of the building and to settle the legal title to the premises. This is what the *Daily People's World* had to say about the matter:

"Attorney A. L. Wirin, legal mouthpiece for the would-be censors of a free press, reached what rank and filers said was an all-time low in his efforts to wheedle an injunction out of Judge Praeger.

Wirin has made fat fees for years representing unions in the century-old fight of workers to end the use of injunctions by employers to break strikes and smash unions.

When Praeger indicated that he was not willing to act immediately on the injunction petition, Wirin requested an *ex parte* restraining order without hearing, without right of the dance sponsors to object.

Labor has condemned the *ex-parte* restraining order as the most vicious instrument yet devised by American big business to beat labor's brains out. Wirin and his right wing C.I.O. bosses, who sat in the court room, hesitated not one moment in asking for such a restraining order themselves in their bitter fight against a worker's newspaper.

In the Courtroom were Council secretary A. T. Lundsford, Regional C.I.O. Director Irwin De Shetler, Bill Lehram, Social Democrat boss of the auto workers, and Jim Martin, rubber workers payrollee of the Council."*

An example of how the activities of A. L. Wirin as counsel for the A.C.L.U. can become confused with the activities of A. L. Wirin acting in his individual capacity is found in the matter of Gerald L. K. Smith applying for permission to speak at the Polytechnic High School in Los Angeles several years ago. The only organization that appeared and insisted that he be permitted to do so was the A.C.L.U., through its counsel, Mr. Wirin. Permission was granted by the Board of Education, and Smith started his program at the appointed time. Wirin, himself a Jew, joined the picket line outside the building carrying a sign urging people not to attend a meeting addressed by a notorious anti-Semite. When he found people being physically restrained from entering the building, he ceased picketing in protest against this practice. We presume that three signs would probably have been necessary under these circumstances: one urging that Smith had a right to speak, the second urging people not to hear him, and a third protesting against people being prevented from hearing him. Sometimes these matters can become very complicated.

Wirin's recent activities, in order to bring the matter down to date, have consisted in his appearing as counsel for John M. Powell, former editor of the *Shanghai Post* and *China Monthly Review*, who is being tried in San Francisco, United States District Court, for having charged

* *Daily People's World*, August 29, 1949.

that the United States engaged in germ warfare during the conflict in Korea. Associated with him in this matter is another attorney to whom we paid considerable attention in our discussion of Communist infiltration at Cutter Laboratories in Alameda County. This associate counsel is Doris Brin Walker.*

For the A.C.L.U., the most recent case in which Mr. Wirin has manifested an interest is that involving Raphael Koenigsberg, former State Relief Association employee, who passed the California State Bar examination but refused to tell the Bar examiners whether or not he was or had ever been a Communist Party member. His application for admission to practice was thereupon rejected, and he filed an appeal which went up to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the first appeal, the court rendered a decision in favor of the appellant. The second appeal, however, was occasioned when the Board of Bar Examiners stubbornly refused to grant the applicant permission to practice law in this State, but again put to him the critical question, and based their refusal to issue him his license on a different legal theory. The result of the case was announced in April 1961, and is an extremely important decision. A newspaper account stated that:

"For Koenigsberg, Monday's high court decision marked a stunning reversal from his Supreme Court victory in 1957. Four years ago, the court ruled that evidence submitted against Koenigsberg did not justify excluding him from the State Bar. When the case went back to the State Bar Committee, Koenigsberg again refused to say whether he had been a Communist. The State Bar again refused to admit him, but this time on grounds that Koenigsberg's refusal to answer obstructed an investigation into his qualifications under State law. Upholding the State Bar's contention, Justice Harlan said for the majority: 'In the first Koenigsberg case this court held that neither the somewhat weak, but uncontradicted testimony, that the petitioner had been a Communist Party member in 1941, nor his refusal to answer questions relating to party membership, could rationally support any substantive adverse inferences as to petitioner's charge or qualifications . . . That was not to say, however, that these factors singly or all together, could not be regarded as leaving the investigatory record in sufficient uncertainty as constitutionally to permit application of the procedural rule which the State has now invoked.'"[†]

Wirin is a member of the National Lawyers Guild, cited by several official agencies as a Communist-dominated organization, and this affiliation, together with his participation in the activities of other organizations that are openly sympathetic to the Communist cause or welcome Communists as members, and his record of close association with Communist fronts and Party members during the thirties, have combined to create considerable suspicion concerning his ideological tendencies and considerable doubt concerning his capacity to serve the A.C.L.U. objectively while still persisting in Lawyers Guild activities. As for occasional charges that Mr. Wirin is a member of the Communist Party or a fellow-traveler, his defiance of the Party line, his ouster

* See 1955 Report, pages 48-69; 1959 Report, pages 124, 132, 134, 135.

† *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1961.

as counsel for the Communist dominated C.I.O. unions, and his representation of anti-Communist organizations and individuals after June 22, 1941, as cited above, speak for themselves.

We have devoted a considerable portion of our report to the A.C.L.U., both national and state, because it has long been a subject of controversy and we have received innumerable letters of inquiry concerning its status. We are not aware that any official organization has undertaken to set forth the history, objectives, organizational structure, operational techniques, and other detailed matter concerning the organization to such an extent, and we are glad to render this service at the specific request of the A.C.L.U. in California. The organization now has twenty-eight chapters in twenty-four states and a total membership of approximately 50,000 people. It seeks to exclude Communists from holding any office or serving on its staff—yet it permits them to become members and appears unconcerned about its representatives belonging to Communist fronts.

It operates a self-perpetuating directorate in its local chapters, the members being allowed no opportunity to vote for their own representatives. They are permitted to suggest candidates for official positions to a nominating committee—but the incumbent officers select the nominating committee and choose their own successors. This peculiarly un-democratic device certainly operates to make for an exceptionally tight control by a small group, that could elect each other indefinitely. It is a curious plan for an organization that advocates freedom and civil rights for all; but, as the new Chairman of the Communist Party pointed out, the A.C.L.U. was the first unofficial group in the country to adopt what the Communists term a "red-baiting" provision barring Party members from office. Perhaps this device was employed for the purpose of implementing the non-Communist resolution of 1940 and the resolution of 1954.

So far as the national A.C.L.U. is concerned, charges that it was a tool of the Communist Party have been made for many years, and we believe it appropriate at this place to include statements by Martin Dies, the first chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and by Mr. Richard Arens, present staff director of that committee. On October 23, 1939, Congressman Dies declared: "This committee found last year, in its report, that there was not any evidence that the American Civil Liberties Union was a Communist organization."†

On April 23, 1960, Mr. Richard Arens, present staff director for the House Committee, delivered an address at the University of Illinois. On that occasion and in response to a question, he said, "The American Civil Liberties Union, A.C.L.U., has never been investigated by the Committee on Un-American Activities, nor has it been found to be a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or, so far as I know, by any governmental agency."*

We greatly disagree with many things that the A.C.L.U. California chapters do, but we do not believe that any of them are so infiltrated by Communists or fellow-travelers at the present time to justify us in characterizing any of them as a Communist front.

* Petition in re Dvorman, Orange County, California, 1961.

† Transcript, House Committee on Un-American Activities Proceedings, October 23, 1939.

COMMUNISM IN ELSINORE

Elsinore is a small resort community situated in Riverside County about twenty-eight miles southwest of the City of Riverside, which is the county seat. Years ago Lake Elsinore was one of the main attractions; another was a bountiful supply of warm mineral water, believed to be beneficial to the health of those who drank it and bathed in it. The lake has been dry for several years, and the supply of mineral water has been steadily diminishing as the population of Elsinore has increased. This acute shortage of water has been common to the entire State—but southeastern California has been particularly hard-hit.

Approximately one-third of the population of Elsinore is Jewish. There are two synagogues and an active Jewish cultural center.

Most of the motels, hotels, baths, resorts and other places where visitors partook of the mineral waters were owned and operated by Jews. When the water shortage became increasingly critical, the Elsinore city administration decided it was necessary to supplement the domestic supply. Accordingly an election was held on December 5, 1950, the Elsinore Valley Municipal Water District was created, and on May 3, 1955, a bond issue of \$1,600,000 was voted for the purpose of procuring a supplemental supply of domestic water. In the meantime the underground supply of mineral water had been rapidly diminishing.

The State Department of Public Health had warned the Elsinore city administration that the fluoride content of the mineral water was incompatible with health; in fact was unfit for human consumption. There was an insufficient quantity to warrant continued delivery to the resort operators anyway, so, on May 28, 1957, the entire supply was shut off. There had been an attempt to dilute the mineral water with a supply from the Colorado River which had been brought into the city after the formation of the water district; the result was a turgid, unattractive liquid that was found to be chemically healthful but of such small mineral content and such unattractive appearance that it was totally unsuitable for use in the resorts. Since the supply was shut off at the beginning of the resort and recreation season, there was a wave of angry protest from property owners whose resort business was virtually ruined.

Accusations of bad faith on part of the city administration, anti-Semitism, and a deliberate plot to drive the Jewish minority out of the city were levelled at the City Council, the City Attorney, and other officials, and finally a \$5,000,000 law suit for damages resulting from the disruption of the supply of mineral water was filed in the United States District Court for the Southern District of California, then dismissed and re-filed in the Riverside County Superior Court on October 25, 1957.

The Lawsuit

We first received information about alleged Communist influence in Elsinore from Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, former vice-chairman of this Committee, and Senator from Riverside County, now retired. On December 4, 1957, Senator Dilworth addressed a letter to Chairman

Hugh M. Burns, stating that his Committee on Education had no jurisdiction in the matter and requested us to investigate persistent reports of Communist influence. Two days later the Committee received complaints from other sources along the same lines, and on January 27, 1958, a representative of the Committee went to Riverside County and made a preliminary check of the situation. On being told that a lawsuit had been filed in October, the complaint was carefully examined in the County Clerk's office in the City of Riverside and revealed that the action was instituted by the Elsinore Property Owners Association (a non-profit corporation) against the Elsinore City Councilmen, various officials of the Elsinore city government, and some individuals who had promoted the formation of the water district and the issuing of the bonds to finance its operation. The complaint, Civil #66914, alleged the general preliminary history of events that led up to the institution of the suit, much as described above, then stated that the defendants had made certain oral promises and written guarantees to the citizens that if the bonds were authorized at the forthcoming election there would be no disruption of the supply of mineral water. Two of these alleged written promises were described in the body of the complaint which declared that they were attached as exhibits as a part of that document—but they had never been so attached and had never been filed with the County Clerk. When the Committee's representative pointed this omission out to the Clerk and stated that the complaint was defective for that reason, the Clerk immediately called one of the attorneys for the plaintiff who stated that he would be right down with the missing documents. After a period of several hours the documents were not produced, and although the defendants were served with copies of the summons and complaint, the matter was never pressed, and the suit was allowed to lapse. The complaint further alleged that the defendants had summarily cut off the supply of mineral water without warning and later diluted it with Colorado River water, which resulted in a murky, dirty-looking liquid that proved most unattractive to prospective patrons of the resort owners. The action claimed \$5,000,000 in damages arising from loss of business because there was no mineral water available for the resort trade, and further sought an injunction and declaratory relief.

Subsequent visits to Elsinore and the adjacent vicinity by Committee representatives disclosed an extremely complicated and challenging situation. Some evidence of Communist influence in the turbulent situation was discovered at an early date, but it was not deemed sufficient to warrant the holding of a hearing. At the same time there was evidence of anti-Semitism, political pressures and intrigue, economic factors, the prospects of a lengthy litigation in court and a pending city election—all of these elements making it extremely inexpedient for this Committee to inject itself into the situation until there was more time to make a searching and thorough investigation, allow the turbulence to settle, and to avoid any interference with the orderly conduct of the municipal election and the trial of the suit. It was accordingly determined that the investigation would be continued, and that no hearing would be held until after the election and answers to the complaint had been filed. Filing of answers to the complaint

were delayed and the Committee soon discovered that it would take months of work to prepare any adequate background for the holding of a hearing.

Propaganda Campaign

Two years before the Elsinore trouble occurred, Morris Kominsky moved from 3416 Chesapeake Avenue, Los Angeles, to Elsinore and established his residence at 400 E. Franklin street in that city. He immediately joined the Elsinore Valley Property Owners Association and was made its coordinator, investigator, propagandist, and spokesman. Immediately there was launched an intensive propaganda campaign that preceded the institution of the lawsuit. The *Valley Times*, formerly published in San Jacinto by James E. Lewis, was used as the vehicle for the Property Owners Association, their articles appearing in the 1957 issues for September 11, September 18, September 25, October 2, October 9, October 23, October 30, November 6, November 13, November 20, November 27, and December 4.

These articles, in summary, were as follows: On September 11, 1957, an article appeared in the *Valley Times* signed by someone who designated himself as "Frank Observer". The identity of the writer was never actually disclosed, but had been thinly disguised. He was the author of many of the articles that appeared thereafter until shortly before the institution of the suit. This article described how, on May 28, 1957, Colorado River water was distributed through the Elsinore City Water System with disastrous results to the spa owners and indirectly to the economy of the entire area; that the municipal administration contended that the level in the two mineral wells had not only made continued supply impossible, but that it had been warned to stop making these waters available by the State Department of Health unless they were diluted to lower the fluoride content to a degree that would not be injurious to public health; that the entire matter had been handled by the city administration summarily, secretly and ineptly—spurred on by "... neurotics and psychotics on the lunatic fringe of our community." Letters were requested demanding an immediate resumption of mineral water delivery, but sent through the medium of the Property Owners Association. On another page of the *Valley Times* of this date, one Ben Kagan criticized Elsinore's two papers for refusing to carry the property owners publicity and saluted publisher Jim Lewis of San Jacinto for offering the use of his *Valley Times*.

On September 18, 1957, the paper carried another article by "Frank Observer" who described two schools of thought concerning the Elsinore water program and the behavior of the City Council—and a third group of "... connivers, the hate peddlers, and the vicious elements, who, fortunately, are a very small but noisy minority." One group attributed the condition to plain stupidity, but the greater majority, wrote "Frank," attributed it to a deliberate conspiracy. He also described an anonymous "poison pen" letter criticising the Property Owners Association, and declared that "no self-respecting newspaper will publish an unsigned letter, and no self-respecting legislative body will read publicly or consider an unsigned letter." *

* This from a person who signed himself "Frank Observer."

In the same paper Sam Farber, Elsinore realtor, stated that despite opinions to the contrary from the State Health Department, in his opinion the mineral waters of Elsinore were chemically sound and entirely fit for human consumption.

In the issue of the paper for September 25, 1957, the filing of the \$5,000,000 lawsuit was mentioned and on the same page appeared a number of letters criticizing the City Council and calling for a massive telephone campaign to put pressure on the city administration.

On October 2, 1957, "Frank Observer" asserted there were glaring discrepancies between the accounts of the two Elsinore papers and a large Riverside paper concerning a meeting of the Elsinore City Council on September 23—maintaining that the only true and reliable account to be found was printed in the *Valley Times*, as reported by the Property Owners Association.

On October 9, 1957, there appeared an open letter from Mr. Sam Kagan to a member of the City Council by the name of Chon Villa, urging him to desert his colleagues and join the Property Owners Association. Kagan shamelessly played on the fact that Villa was a Mexican, as follows:

"... All too often a member of a persecuted group, who achieves a little 'status' falls for the blandishments of the very people who despise him, but are willing to use him."

Then Kagan added:

"Councilman Villa's home phone number is Main 3262. Please phone him and encourage him to make a break and line up with the people."

On October 23, 1957, Sam Farber ridiculed the position of the State Department of Health and printed an open letter to its director, Dr. Malcom Merrill, endeavoring to plant the idea that Dr. Merrill and his department were in error concerning the danger to public health if the mineral water in its undiluted state and high fluoride content was distributed through the facilities of the city water system, and casting widespread doubt concerning the good faith of the state department. Attacks were made against the *Elsinore Sun*, City Attorney Arthur Littleworth and the City Council. The issue for October 30, 1957, continued this assault and "Frank Observer" threatened a libel suit against any "witch-hunters" who dared make accusations of Communism against him. On November 6, 1957, this anonymous writer's article consisted of an open letter to the council from Sam Farber dated October 28, and Morris Kominsky was described as "director of research and administration" for the Property Owners Association.

By mid-November 1957, it apparently had become obvious to the Property Owners Association that their campaign had degenerated into an animated name-calling operation, and proclaimed that there would be no more "hard-hitting articles by 'Frank Observer'"; and on November 20, 1957, in contrast to the relentless campaign of vituperation that had appeared in prior issues, this edition of the *Valley News* signaled a step to the ham-handed technique and showed the effect of a somewhat steadier hand on the propaganda rudder. Instead of threatening libel suits, now the Property Owners Association declared that

they would "ignore the scurrilous and slanderous attacks." They also exhibited some apprehension about "name-calling, whispering campaigns, and smear campaigns." They declared that "regardless of what scare stories they may attempt to peddle, the basic ideas remain: clean water, clean government and harmonious relations amongst all our people!" This, obviously, was in direct contrast to the tirade of abuse that had been churning through the columns of this paper. Sam Farber's "Elsinore's Fluoride Hoax" was also more temperate in this issue than his usual articles had been, speaking of something "... we intended to spring as a surprise in court, but which we are now going to tell to a higher court—the people of Elsinore." He then (by inference) admitted that there were valid objections to the high fluoride content of the mineral water by suggesting the practical use of processes to reduce that content, and advocated investigation of the feasibility of devices to make the mineral water safe, and to end "all the silly wrangling and squabbling."

There is no question about the supply of mineral water being the chief factor behind Elsinore's economic stability. When the supply was shut off, protests were only natural. The real problem consisted of the fact that at least two of the leaders of the embattled Property Owners Association had long Communist records, and that there were many Communist sympathizers and fellow-travelers who resided in the community. Furthermore, the campaign of relentless vituperation against the incumbent city administration effectively undermined public confidence, and at the next election a majority of them were removed from office, including the Chief of Police, the City Attorney, and other key officials who were replaced by candidates of the Property Owners Association, which had now achieved its ultimate objective and captured control of the city government.

The City of Hate

As authorities were beginning to believe that the situation at Elsinore was leveling off, it was again stirred up by a T.V. program over station KTLA on December 11, 1959, which was entitled "City of Hate." This presentation was highly sensational, presented with great dramatic impact, and was so utterly irresponsible it was condemned by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith; by the State Attorney General's Office; by the Riverside County Grand Jury, and by every person and agency that has real knowledge of the facts. The program was produced with the assistance of representatives of the Elsinore Property Owners Association, led by the ubiquitous Mr. Morris Kominsky and his close associates. The presentation was narrated by Patrick Michaels, who had gone to Elsinore to prepare the program, and this presentation has probably done more to stir up old animosities and open old wounds than anything else—and it even made accusations that the State Department of Health was part of a gigantic anti-Semitic plot to so terrorize the Jewish population that it would leave the city of Elsinore permanently.

On April 4, 1960, the State Attorney General's Office issued a written report of its investigations of the Elsinore problem. The report contained no data concerning subversion or Communism of any kind, but was based on investigations conducted in 1958 and 1959. After the

"City of Hate" program another investigation was undertaken. The Attorney General's report traced the history of the water controversy, and pointed out that there were two radical groups: some people alleged to be Communists by legislative committees, and some anti-Semitic agitators. Each group gathered a small following and engaged in a protracted campaign of vituperation. A larger group confused anti-Semitism with anti-Communism, and a group of militant Jews reacted by accusing both groups of being anti-Semitic. Here are some excerpts from the Attorney General's report of the KTLA program, "City of Hate":

"Examples of the program's allegations and the facts are set forth below:

'Almost every other building in Elsinore has a for rent sign. There were five store buildings for rent at this time. In 1955-56, Elsinore's most prosperous year, there were eleven stores vacant.

'These are the sun-baked streets that give you a feeling of emptiness . . .' Doubtless, some of this feeling of emptiness was caused by the televising of Spring Street on a Sunday morning when the business district was practically deserted. Both sides of the street are marked with 'No Parking At Any Time' signs.

'There's the empty, desolate theatre in the heart of the city, whose lobby once held people; now only trash and waste collect.' The empty, desolate theatre was abandoned after condemnation some years ago and a new theatre was built around the corner by the same owner.

'And there are signs of vanished wealth, a wealth that once was that of Elsinore when it was a tourist playground and a world famous mineral spa. But the city's swimming pools are empty except for collections of rotting tumble weeds. The water is gone.' In the pool pictured on the this program, the water is gone. The pool was abandoned some thirty-five years ago after the dressing rooms burned.

'Now there's plenty of evidence that doom, the doom of a town that is decaying, dying, being choked to death, is running rampant.' Although the motels have been hurt by the tourist exodus, fourteen new homes are under construction at this time. Building permits for 1958 had an aggregate value of \$182,642. The total for 1959 was \$445,797. Sales tax receipts show an increase from \$26,653 in 1957 to \$27,755 in 1959.

More serious were the program's charges about acts of violence aimed at Elsinore's Jewish residents. Examples:

'And a Jew told me how his child was beaten on his way home from school by adults who cursed him as a Jew.' No one in Elsinore knows of the beating of any child. Investigation revealed that the father of one child told of an incident involving his son to the program coordinator. He is certain that his story was the basis of the allegation about the beating of the boy. The boy says he has never been cursed or insulted for being a Jew by anyone in Elsinore, apart from this incident.

'There in the yellowing newspaper files you can find some of the background. You can find the story of the two Jewish women

who were kidnapped on the streets years ago, taken to a vacant lot, and beaten under a flaming cross.' In July 1956, two women were the victims of an unsuccessful purse-snatching effort. One was struck several times by one of the two assailants. The newspaper clipping refers also to another assault in a neighboring town a week earlier where \$30 and a watch were taken by two young men after striking their victim in a similar manner. The description given by the Elsinore woman at that time to the attending physician tallied with that of the assailants in the earlier case. There was no kidnapping and no fiery cross.

'But its biggest pride was shattered by an anti-Semitic vandal this past week. The costly stained glass window, which was the congregation's pride and joy, was shattered by a rock . . . but if anything hurt them the most, these people, it was the rock through their prized stained glass window, the rock that shattered the Ten Commandments.'

The 'anti-Semitic vandal' was a 16 year old boy, who, in the company of two other 16-year olds, was returning from a football game about six weeks before the T.V. broadcast on November 6, 1959. While en route to the bus station they were chasing each other through the park, which is directly across the street from the synagogue. One of the boys tackled the other who fell on a rock. The latter picked up the rock which had hurt him and aimlessly threw it. When they heard glass break, the boys ran off. The boy who threw the rock comes from a poor family. He wanted to report the incident the next day but became frightened when he read in the newspaper that window was valued at \$125. His story has been corroborated by other persons and our independent investigation. He had no realization that he had hit a synagogue window across the park until the next day."

* * * *

" . . . on examining the T.V. allegations and the actual facts, instance after instance, one might be tempted to dismiss Elsinore's anti-Semitism as pure fiction. There is, however, a serious amount of anti-Semitism in Elsinore. It merits further investigation, despite the 'City of Hate' presentation.

At this point grave allegations have been made concerning the motives and methods of the opposed groups. It is charged that there is an organized conspiracy to drive the Jews from Elsinore. It is likewise alleged that this charge itself is part of a Communist scheme to create strife by raising the issue of religious hatred and racial intolerance.

It is impossible to determine the actual truth regarding these allegations of conspiracy without putting those making these statements under oath. Charge and countercharge will succeed each other until there is an opportunity to get at the truth."

The Grand Jury Report

On January 5, 1961 the Riverside County Grand Jury issued a report into the "Affairs of the City of Elsinore and the Charges Made by the

KTLA telecast 'City of Hate' and Recommendations Resulting from Said Investigation." Here are excerpts:

The report repeated the history of the water controversy; and mentioned the allegations about the State Department of Health being a part of an anti-Semitic conspiracy. KTLA also accused the State Attorney General's Office of using illegal detection devices and attempting to whitewash the anti-Semitic aspect of the problem.

The Grand Jury summoned Patrick Michaels and found him to be an evasive, irresponsible witness. He was cited for contempt. Having completed its analysis of the long record of the testimony of many witnesses, the Grand Jury made its findings:

"The Grand Jury finds that a dental study was made in the city of Elsinore itself in 1957, and that the use of the Elsinore drinking water by children under ten produced a mottling of the children's teeth, which resulted in permanent structural and aesthetic damage. The dental test was run at the request of the city of Elsinore and Elsinore city officials were well aware of the dental problems which resulted from the high floride count in their drinking water."

Michaels had also stated positively that "most cities are fighting to add fluoride to their water," which was, the Grand Jury found, a bald distortion, "because no city is fighting to add an amount of fluoride to water beyond the safe and legal limits of one part fluoride to a million parts of water." His allegations that other California cities had a higher proportion of fluoride in their domestic water supplies were found to be equally false. The report continued:

"Mr. Michaels asserts that the problem in Elsinore is one of greed and that the problems of Elsinore are brought about by a 'small minority' that are the 'master-minds behind the organized project to rid by terror the Jews from the city. We know who they are, or at least who some of them are, and are willing to turn our files over to the proper law enforcement agencies who will protect the constitutional rights of the people in that city.'

In this regard the Grand Jury found that Mr. Michaels did not identify anybody who was a so-called 'master-mind' nor did he produce any evidence to support his allegations in that regard. Furthermore, Michaels, while offering on the telecast to turn over his files to the proper law enforcement officials to protect the constitutional rights of the Elsinore citizens, actually delayed the Grand Jury investigation into the whole matter for a period of five months through his legal maneuvering. If Michaels had, in fact, any genuine information about any possible violence to be inflicted on any citizens of the city of Elsinore, it would have been his duty to present such information to the Grand Jury at once in the interests of justice." The report was signed by Kenneth Stalder, foreman of the Grand Jury of Riverside County.

In January 1961, the Grand Jury voted indictments against Pat Michaels, five former members of the Elsinore City Council, the Elsinore city attorney, and five other persons following its investigations of the telecast. The document containing the indictments against the per-

sons responsible for the telecast and against the new members of the Elsinore city administration elected to replace those who were in office at the time the controversy arose named Patrick Michaels, James Schulke, former manager of KTLA; Carl Kegley, Elsinore city attorney; Morris Kominsky, Ben Kagan, Walter C. Bittle, Elsinore Chief of Police; Samuel Farber, Thomas C. Bartlett, and Thomas R. Yarborough. Another count charged the five members of the Elsinore City Council at the time of the telecast with conspiracy to violate the terms of the city's water permit from the State Department of Public Health. Those named were Bartlett, Joseph Davidson, Roy Macey, Richard L. McAdam, and Yarborough. A third count charged Attorney Kegley with attempting to defraud the city of Elsinore by presenting false claims, and in the twenty-page document accompanying its action, the Grand Jury made specific recommendations to the Federal Communications Commission and to the administration of the city of Elsinore, pointing out the highly inflammatory and irresponsible nature of the telecast and stating that "... the chief of police of the city of Elsinore has ties with private citizens in that town which are totally out of harmony with sound and objective policing methods." It further suggested that the city make a contract with the Riverside County Sheriff's Office for adequate policing of the community.

The indictment was actually filed on January 5, 1961, alleging that Bartlett, Kominsky, Kegley and others actually attended the conference at studio KTLA during November and December 1959 to help prepare the presentation of the "City of Hate." The indictment also listed the witnesses examined before the Grand Jury, and since we will soon be interested in the Communist records of two of them, we set forth the list, which contains the names of some of the members of the city administration who were in office at the time the controversy arose. The complete list is as follows: Clyde S. Longe, Patrick Francis Michaels, Joseph F. Quinn, Glen A. Westfal, Cheryl French, Albert A. Web, Morris Kominsky, George Schatz, Arthur W. Reinhardt, Judson A. Harmon, Lewis C. Davis, Alexander Tovar, James E. Lewis, Ben Kagan, Samuel Farber, Jack Feinstein, Jack Goertzen, Thomas R. Yarborough, Walter C. Bittle, Arthur Littleworth, John E. Woodside, Joel Taylor, Carl S. Kegley, B. C. Boggs, Harold Roberts, James McGowan, Gene Hutchison, Thomas C. Bartlett, R. L. McAdams, Peter DeJong, Florence Kunkle, and James Alspach.

Five Riverside County Superior Court judges disqualified themselves from hearing the case—so the matter was transferred to Indio before Superior Court Judge Merrill Brown, and set for trial on March 16, 1961. Judge Brown, however, quashed all the indictments, remarking: "I am mindful of all the publicity Elsinore has received, and the quicker the litigation is brought to an end, the better for everyone." Deputy District Attorney Roland Wilson and Deputy State Attorney General Jack Goertzen said they would recommend an appeal from Judge Brown's ruling.

From the time that its attention was directed to the trouble at Elsinore in 1958 until the return of the indictments by the Riverside County Grand Jury in 1961, this Committee has sent investigators into the area on five separate occasions, each of the visits lasting for several days. Naturally, our interest was to ascertain the extent and influence of

subversive infiltration in the community. In passing, however, we revert to the findings of the Grand Jury and the State Attorney General's Office relating to anti-Semitism, and corroborate each report completely by our own independent findings that while there certainly was an anti-Semitic feeling in the community, it was manifested by a very small group of people, magnified out of all true proportions, and certainly amounted to no plot for the purpose of ridding the city of its Jewish residents. It must be born in mind, also, that it is the business of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith to deal with anti-Semitism and that the B'nai B'rith declared the KTLA telecast of the situation presented an entirely erroneous and highly magnified concept of anti-Semitism at Elsinore.

Nothing in the Grand Jury Report referred to Communist influences, and the only reference to them made in the report of the State Attorney General was that some of the active participants in the controversy had been accused of subversive affiliation by legislative committees.

Communist Activities

Prior to World War II, the Committee had never encountered an effort on the part of Communists to undertake a campaign to get control of a small municipal government. After the war, however, when the Party was at the height of its power and arrogance, we encountered several such instances, notably at the city of Fairfax in the bay region where the Committee held a hearing in August 1947 at the request of the City Council of that community.

The infiltration and agitation at Elsinore had its inception in 1946 with the formation of the Elsinore Progressive League, a Negro organization with a few white members, conceived and operated by the Communist Party. Its secretary was Mrs. R. L. Burks, and during the period of its active operation from 1946 to 1955, it exerted a considerable influence in the community and the adjacent vicinity and constituted a nucleus for the spreading of the infection.* The Elsinore Progressive League was designated by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist-dominated organization on October 20 1955, and on November 1 of that year.†

The *National Guardian*, progressive news weekly, is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 East Fourth St., New York City 9, New York. Its editor is James Aronson, its "editor-in-exile" is Cedric Belfrage, and its general manager is John T. McManus. As a medium for the spreading of the most vicious kind of Communist propaganda, this publication ranks with the *People's World* in California and the *Daily Worker* in New York. Sometimes, particularly in recent months, it has outstripped both of the others combined in its tirade of Communist propaganda, abuse against our government and our cherished institutions, in an obvious effort to discredit public confidence in our official representatives. At the time of the trouble in Elsinore, there were twenty-one residents of that city who subscribed to this paper, five who were subscribers to the *People's World*, and ten subscribers to the *Morning Freiheit*, a Jewish publication which is the

* *Daily People's World*, January 3, 1955.

† See designations by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, pursuant to Executive Order 10450; *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications*, 85th Congress, First Session, House Document #226, pp. 144 and 146.

counterpart of the *National Guardian*, the *People's World* and the *Daily Worker*.

James McGowan, who operated a T.V. and radio repair business on the outskirts of the city of Elsinore during all of the controversy, took an active part for the Elsinore Property Owners Association from the very inception of the difficulty, and was frequently observed in open and covert conferences with its leading lights, especially Morris Kominisky. The House Committee on Un-American Activities happened to be holding a hearing in Los Angeles during the period of the Elsinore trouble, and called Mr. McGowan as a witness. He gave them the Fifth Amendment, the customary tirade of abuse and evasion, and nothing more. But we had examined Mr. McGowan at a much earlier time, and before the Communist technique had changed. In earlier days the Party members who took the witness stand before committees of the state or federal governments were more arrogant and defiant in their attitude, and more readily admitted their Party affiliation. We have already explained how the technique has changed, and that for the past several years Communist witnesses have never revealed any valuable information, will adopt a hostile and snarling attitude, will invoke the Fifth Amendment every time they are pressed for information about their subversive affiliation or activity, and utilize the rest of the time they are before the investigative body for the purpose of undermining public confidence in it and hurling every sort of vituperation and insult. They either get themselves physically expelled and arouse sympathy, or try to needle some Committee member into a rash statement that makes a bad appearance in the transcript. And, as we have also observed, the F.B.I. is not turning over any informants of current value to legislative committees so that they can be exposed and testify openly, and on the occasions when they do permit such former undercover operatives to testify, the testimony is usually too stale to be of much positive value. Friendly witnesses will ordinarily testify with much more alacrity in a closed hearing and without the sensational attributes and publicity of an open session.

According to our records and the sworn testimony before our Committee at Visalia in March 1940, James McGowan joined the Communist Party while living in Los Angeles in 1938 and has been a member ever since that time. He appeared before the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee at Visalia, that body, as stated, being the predecessor of the present State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities. It was then composed of Assemblymen Samuel W. Yorty, Chester Gannon, Jack B. Tenney, Lee P. Bayshore, and James H. Phillips. R. E. Combs interrogated the witnesses as Counsel for the Committee, which was also advised by George W. Wakefield and Martin McDonough, then Deputy Legislative Counsel.

McGowan testified that he resided at 329 North L Street in the City of Tulare, having come to Tulare County from Los Angeles in March 1939; that he had lived in Los Angeles for seven or eight years and had worked in the oil fields and sold some occasional articles to magazines under various pen names; that he was "executive secretary of the Communist Party for all of Tulare County and the cities of Hanford and Corcoran in adjacent Kings County"; that he was elected to this position about a week after arriving in the county at a meeting

which was held at a private home in the City of Tulare; that at the time of his election, the "delegates of a number of branches were present, representing the membership of the groups of the Party—I would say four or five groups at the time—representing 110 or 115 members in Tulare County." As of March 1940, when he gave his testimony, McGowan stated that there were 135 Communists in Tulare County.*

No sooner had McGowan arrived in Tulare County than he plunged into local affairs. He presided with Oscar Fuss at a meeting celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Workers Alliance in California on March 10, 1940; he became the dominant figure of the Consolidated Board of Organizations, comprising Communist fronts in radical labor groups with which the Party collaborated in a local United Front operation; he requested the use of the Visalia municipal auditorium in which to hold Communist meetings as early as September 24, 1939.

McGowan left Tulare County in 1941, was inducted into the armed forces, served during World War II, then returned to his old place of residence, Southern California. He eventually came to Elsinore where he established a radio and TV repair business, as explained above, at the northwest approach to the city. Here too, as he had done in Tulare County, he immediately plunged into local affairs. Controversy over the water situation was rapidly approaching a climax, and Kominisky was inciting the Elsinore Valley Property Owners Association to step up their vilification campaign, and rumors of anti-Semitic activities commenced to seep through the community. McGowan sat in many strategy meetings with Kominisky, Farber and Kagan—and others; he had vast experience in this field, largely based on his brief but active sojourn in the San Joaquin Valley, where he incited sitdown strikes in the offices of the State Relief Administration, organized unemployed agricultural migrants into the Communist-dominated Workers Alliance, and organized the young staff administrators of the Relief Administration into another Communist front known as the State, County and Municipal Workers of America.

McGowan had been a frequent visitor at the Federal Migratory Labor Camp southeast of Visalia and did everything in his power to take advantage of an economic depression and the consequent frustration, bitterness and resentment on the part of large masses of unemployed workers. At Elsinore the situation was made to order. This time the controversy was also a local depression, brought about by the failure of resort operators to obtain the mineral waters with which to sustain their business, and consequent racial and sociological tensions. This sort of a situation is ideal for an experienced, capable Communist agitator. As we have seen, the subscribers to Communist publications were plentiful and their circle of influence was extremely wide. In addition, we have information from a highly reliable but confidential source, that the former organizer for the Olgin Branch of the Communist Party of Los Angeles moved to Elsinore and although she subscribed only to one of the publications mentioned above, she was nevertheless quietly active, and other known members of the Communist Party from Los Angeles, and members of active front organizations in that city, were streaming in and out of Elsinore and were in

* Committee Transcript, pages 54-55; 59.

constant contact with both McGowan and Kominsky. The latter was communicating by letter, in a peculiarly indirect fashion, with Party contacts in Los Angeles, and has a rather interesting record of his own.

Morris Kominsky once resided in Rhode Island where he signed a petition for the nomination of one James R. Reed who was running for governor of that state on the Communist Party ticket in 1936. Kominsky himself was a candidate for that office two years later, and received a total of 366 votes. In 1942 he was residing at 4317 Milburn Drive, Los Angeles, where he was a regular subscriber to the California Communist newspaper, the *People's World*. In that year he protested the prosecution of Sam Darcy, state organizer for the Communist Party in California, who was up for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism Act and was being prosecuted in the City of San Francisco. In 1949 Kominsky joined in a Civil Rights Congress petition for the discharge of the Grand Jury investigating the Communist Party. The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by us on many occasions as a Communist front, being merely a continuation of the old international arm of the Comintern known as International Labor Defense. It has also been cited as a Communist-controlled organization by the Attorney General of the U. S.*

In 1950 Kominsky was a member of the Eastside Citizens Committee Supporting Robert W. Kenny for State Senator, Mr. Kenny's record of participation in Communist-controlled organizations being most impressive, and his tenure as national president of the National Lawyers Guild having been described elsewhere in previous reports of this Committee.† In 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, and part of 1955, Kominsky and his wife Anna continued to reside at 1171 Miller Avenue, Los Angeles, and received the Communist newspaper at that address during all of this time. They registered as members of the Independent Progressive Party in 1952, and on April 27, 1953 Kominsky wrote a letter to the Los Angeles City Board of Education protesting the discharge of Frances Eisenberg, former member of the board of directors of the Communist school in Los Angeles; Mrs. Frank Wilkinson, a teacher; Abraham Mineus, Seniel Gerber and Harry Shepro—all of whom had appeared as witnesses before us—describing the Board of Education "campaign of terror and intimidation." All of the individuals named above were fired because they refused to answer pertinent questions concerning their Communist affiliations and activities.

In February 1953 Kominsky was a sponsor for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, one of the few major Communist fronts still in operation, and which has been exceedingly active in Southern California. In 1955 Kominsky wrote letters to the editor of the *National Guardian* on March 24, April 11, June 27, August 1, and September 12. He moved to 3416 Chesapeake Avenue, Los Angeles, where he continued to receive the Communist paper in 1955, and was living at that address when he switched his registration from the Independent Progressive to the Democratic Party, left Los Angeles and moved to 400 East Franklin Street, Elsinore. He received his mail at Post Office Box 337 in that city, and as we have explained,

* Letter to the Loyalty Review Board from Attorney General Tom Clark, December 4, 1947, September 21, 1948; *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications*, op. cit., p. 25; see also *People's World*, April 4, 1949.

† *People's World*, May 18, 1950.

lost no time in directing the activities of the newly-formed Elsinore Valley Property Owners Association.

Former members of the Elsinore Police Department have stated that the residents of that city "had the wool pulled over their eyes by Communist agitators who had been moving into the city for the last three years." * The records of this Committee disclosed that at least thirty-five of the most active agitators and propagandists who participated in the effort to get control of the city government of Elsinore, have long and persistent records of Communist front affiliation and similar agitation in other localities. Many of the voters in the municipal election that resulted in the ouster of the old officials and their replacement with new ones backed by the Property Owners Association had moved into Elsinore—despite rumors of political and economic disaster in that city—from Los Angeles just in time to be eligible to vote in the election. The pattern of front affiliation in many cases originated back in the '30s with the signing of petitions to qualify the Communist Party to participate in California elections, and then continued sporadically over the years until the record disclosed the subscriptions to Communist propaganda publications, and the participation in some of the major fronts that are still in operation, such as the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and the Civil Rights Congress until it was liquidated a short time ago.

The reports of anti-Semitism were highly exaggerated, as is seen from the report of the Riverside County Grand Jury and the investigative report submitted by the State Attorney General's office. Nevertheless, there was anti-Semitism to some degree, and this regrettable state of affairs, together with the economic and political controversies, provided an ideal situation for the Communist leaders to move in and exploit to the utmost. Kominsky and McGowan were in constant contact with their superiors from Los Angeles, and checks of automobile license numbers disclosed the character of persons with whom they were doing business.

It must be obvious to laymen that the development of reliable information concerning situations such as the Elsinore problem requires long and diligent collection of fragments of evidence that are carefully checked and evaluated through a period of months. Premature hearings in situations of this type merely increase the racial tensions, provide an atmosphere of sensationalism and tension that accomplishes far more harm than good, and encourages the action of self-appointed vigilante groups and an inevitable increase in the confusion and difficulty of making a responsible and accurate estimate of the situation. Since these conditions develop slowly, and since they invariably are masked behind a logical cause for antagonism, such as the failure of the mineral water supply in Elsinore, it is extremely difficult and challenging to separate facts from fancy. Any attempt to plunge into a community before there has been an opportunity to conduct a painstaking investigation is utterly futile, and, as we pointed out, invariably produces far more detriment than benefit.

It would have been ideal, of course, if we had been in a position to take some sort of preventive action by way of exposing the true facts before the subversive element was able to consolidate its position—but

* Statement by former Woodlake Police Chief Duane W. Roderick, December 17, 1959.

this was utterly impossible because of the size of our staff at that time, and the extreme difficulty encountered in securing reliable information in an atmosphere of excitement, racial animosity, vigilante action, the filing of a \$5,000,000 legal action and the pending of a municipal election.

The situation in Elsinore is, in our view, far from settled. As long as highly-indoctrinated Communist agitators reside in the area the trouble will continue, and we are hopeful that the exposure of the leaders of the pro-Communist element in that little city will put a stop to their ability to take advantage of a local controversy for the purpose of agitating, recruiting and propagandizing for their own ulterior motives. From the group of residents with Communist front affiliations, and their supporters, we can anticipate charges of red-baiting, witch-hunting, McCarthyism, destruction of civil liberties, irresponsible charges, and all of the shop-worn and threadbare propaganda devices that are always emitted by persons whose subversive records are finally dragged out into the daylight. In the meantime the appeal from the Superior Court decision quashing the Grand Jury indictments is pending, and the situation in Elsinore is being closely observed by several official agencies.

THE WONDERLAND YOUTH CENTER

The Wonderland Youth Center, located in Laurel Canyon, Los Angeles, was founded in 1949 and has since been operated as a non-profit corporation providing a place for the holding of dramatic programs, recreational activities, and similar facilities for the youngsters who live in the general vicinity of the Center. The organization functions through an elected Board of Directors, the usual corporate officers, and a base membership of parents, who pay an annual fee for the purpose of financing the enterprise.

Until early in 1959 the Center flourished with a minimum of friction until a new Board of Directors was elected in February of that year. Among the new members of the board were two Los Angeles attorneys. Richard L. Rykoff and Jack Tenner. Each had been connected with several Communist front organizations, each had invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party by the House Committee, each had been positively identified by sworn testimony of several witnesses as having been a member of the Communist Party.

Shortly after the election an article was published in the *Los Angeles Times* which described both Tenner and Rykoff as being in the elite corps of Communist lawyers in the United States, and considerable concern arose among the parents of children who patronized the Center at having two Communist lawyers on the Board of Directors of the organization.*

When individual members of the Board of Directors requested Tenner and Rykoff to resign for the benefit of the Center, they each refused. This precipitated action on the part of parents who were members of the Wonderland Youth Center and who were opposed to having the organization submit to the directorship of Communists. They pro-

* *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1959.

posed an amendment to the by-laws which would preclude membership to Communists, fellow-travelers, and those who had refused to cooperate with any duly authorized State or Federal counter-subversive investigative agency. One hundred and thirty-one members of the Center signified their approval of such an amendment to the by-laws, twenty-one signified opposition to the proposal, and fifty-seven declined to participate one way or the other. The amendment was eventually approved by a majority of the membership, who signed a circular setting forth the new by-law, and it was submitted to the secretary of the organization. Thereafter the Board of Directors decided to ignore the amendment, and by a vote of eleven to four adopted a by-law providing for the admission to membership of any individual who would pay the annual membership fee, regardless of his subversive affiliations or convictions.

On July 7 1959 a general membership meeting was held and attended by approximately 210 people. A vote was then taken on the proposed anti-Communist amendment and it was defeated by a vote of approximately 150 to 60. According to proponents of this measure, at least one-third of those who voted in opposition to the amendment had been recently enrolled as members of the organization under the provisions of the amendment which had been proposed by the Board of Directors, and it was apparent that many members were not opposed to Communism and, in fact, became abusive toward the anti-Communist faction. In the turmoil and animosity that followed, charges were made that about twenty members of the Wonderland Youth Center had been identified as Communist Party members through testimony before various state or federal agencies or had appeared before legislative committees and refused to testify concerning their subversive affiliations. Thereafter approximately 80 percent of the anti-Communist group withdrew their support from the Center, and the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles denied the Center the use of the building which had been located on Board of Education property at 8554 Wonder Land Avenue in Laurel Canyon, and demolished the building for the purpose of devoting the property to other uses.

Complaints have been received by this Committee concerning the alleged Communist infiltration of Wonderland Youth Center since March 1959, and during the past several months we have been requested by various persons to conduct an investigation of the situation. An example of the type of controversy generated by the presence of two lawyers on the Board of Directors who had been identified as members of the Communist Party, is disclosed by various articles that appeared in the *Canyon Crier*, a neighborhood newspaper, through the columns of which a campaign was conducted which, although smaller in volume and less protracted, reminds one of the campaign conducted in the *San Jacinto Valley News* in connection with the controversy at Elsinore. Thus in June 1959 John Anderson, then president of Wonderland Youth Center, stated that the general membership had been approached "in a disturbing manner in the last few weeks with a document purporting to amend the by-laws of the Center." Then he said, "... the Board, on May 18, took action on the matter of amendment of procedures and qualifications for membership. By a count of ten to four the Board amended the by-laws of qualification for membership, stipulat-

ing that the only qualification for membership would be the payment of annual dues."

In the same issue of the paper James L. Deisen, immediate past president of the Center, pointed out "that the Board of Directors of the Wonderland Youth Center, Inc., has no authority to authorize or withhold authorization for a referendum vote of the membership of the corporation on any subject."* In February 1960 Norman Rose, a former editor and publisher of the *Canyon Crier*, accused supporters of the petition for the adoption of the non-Communist by-law of threatening to report every one who refused to sign it to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and charged that "... the sneering, irrational, savage echoes of Joe McCarthy came from the unwitting lips of the loyalty-oath faction."† This declaration was answered by Mary Ann Nash in a subsequent issue of the paper who declared that:

"Mr. Rose takes it upon himself to scourge the guiding ghost, but someone should point out to Norman that Joe McCarthy did not invent opposition to Communism . . . People become wary at the hint of Communism. This reaction has nothing to do with McCarthy or the Un-American Activities Committee. It has to do with the protection of their souls. It is not the pale ghost of that arch-opportunist, the aforementioned dead Senator, who haunts our beautiful hills; it is the stealthy spectre of Communism. May the fight against it be courageous, and may it never cease."‡

There is no law, as yet, in this country which forbids a person from being a member of the Communist Party. Neither is there any law which forbids membership in Communist-front organizations. If a private organization desires to permit members of the Communist Party to serve on its Board of Directors and hold offices in the organization, and if the membership of the organization by a majority vote decides in favor of such a procedure, this is something over which the minority membership of that organization—which is opposed to their youth center being run by Communists—is powerless to prevent. Their remedy is only to stay in the organization and work to elect non-Communist individuals to official positions in the organization, or to leave the movement and start one of their own. It is, however, important that the membership be informed concerning the techniques of Communists, the identity of individuals who masquerade as sincere liberals but who actually are doing so only as an incident to their real purpose, which is to further the cause of Communism by capturing every organization that is vulnerable to their tactics of infiltration. For that reason we herewith set forth the records of Jack Tenner and Richard L. Rykoff, together with other members of the Wonderland Youth Center who by their own deliberate choice, have elected to affiliate with Communist fronts and further Communism in this country by working in organizations that are under the control of the Communist apparatus itself.

Our first contact with Richard L. Rykoff occurred in September of 1948 when, with Ben Margolis who has also been identified as a Communist attorney, he signed a motion to quash subpoenas of witnesses who had been summoned to appear before the California Committee on

* *Canyon Crier*, June 11, 1959.

† *Canyon Crier*, February 4, 1960.

‡ *Canyon Crier*, February 11, 1960.

Un-American Activities. We have already mentioned the Civil Rights Congress as successor to International Labor Defense as the legal arm of the Communist Party in this country. In January 1951 Rykoff's name appeared on page 51 of a booklet describing this organization as a contributor and supporter of this well-known Communist front. On March 30, 1954, Rykoff signed a sponsor certificate for Horace V. Alexander, who was running for Secretary of State in California on the Independent Progressive Party's ticket. We have mentioned the Communist control of the Independent Progressive Party on numerous occasions, and how the Party used it for the purpose of whipping up enthusiasm behind a long slate of left-wing candidates for public office. In December 1954 Rykoff appeared as attorney for Dr. Marvin Sure and Dr. Jacob Agins. This appearance was in connection with our investigation of Communist infiltration of the medical profession in Southern California, and particularly of a former cultural front controlled by the Party called the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council. Both Rykoff and Attorney Jack Tenner were members of this organization, as were Drs. Sure and Agins. The former refused to answer questions about his alleged subversive affiliations on the ground that his testimony might tend to incriminate him, and the latter was released from the subpoena because the Committee received convincing evidence that his heart condition would imperil his health if he were forced to testify. Mr. Rykoff, however, stipulated that his client would refuse on constitutional grounds to answer any and all questions concerning his alleged subversive activities and affiliations if he were personally present before the committee.* In 1955 at a House Committee hearing in San Diego, a witness testified that Rykoff advised her as a Communist Party member to give false answers on her application for a passport to the U. S. Department of State, in an effort to conceal her subversive operations. Of course, it was not known to Rykoff at the time that he was talking to a person he believed to be a legitimate member of the Communist Party, but who was actually an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In 1956 Rykoff was vice-president of the Southern California branch of the National Lawyers Guild, listed by official agencies as a Communist-dominated organization of left-wing lawyers.

Jack Tenner, former secretary of the National Lawyers Guild in Southern California, was also active in the Civil Rights Congress. In 1948 he appeared in the office of the U. S. Attorney in Los Angeles to speak against the deportation of Communists from this country, and he signed a propaganda handbill issued by the Civil Rights Congress protesting the jailing of ten members of the Communist Party who defied the Grand Jury and refused to testify concerning subversive activities in Los Angeles County. On February 25, 1950, Tenner made the address at an evening session of the California Legislative Conference, heretofore described by us on many occasions as a Communist front, urging support for the organization, both morally and financially. In January 1952, Tenner was a speaker at a meeting of the medical division of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council at the home of Dr. Morris Feder, and in the same year was identified by sworn testimony as a member of the legal branch of the Communist Party of Los

* Committee Transcript, Vol. 63-D, December 9, 1954.

Angeles County. In April 1952 he spoke at a meeting sponsored by the California Emergency Defense Committee, another Communist front, and in the same year invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked by the House Committee to testify about his alleged connection with the Communist Party. In September 1952, he had been one of the speakers at a meeting in Los Angeles sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, and helped organize a picket line around the Federal Building in Los Angeles where the House Committee hearings were being held. The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms has also been identified as a Communist-front organization. In February 1953, Tenner attended a meeting of the Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, also a Communist-controlled organization, and in November of the same year he was a speaker on a legal panel at a banquet in the Park Manor honoring defense attorneys who served for the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, also listed as a front organization by all official agencies and which has been heretofore described by us as one of the major Communist front organizations still actively operating in this state. In December 1954, Tenner was identified as a speaker at a meeting of the medical division of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council at the home of Dr. Morris Feder. In January 1952, and in February 1955, he attended conferences on legislation sponsored by the California Legislative Conference, a Communist front; on April 12, 1955, he attended a meeting of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, and in 1956 he was a member of the executive board of the Hollywood-Beverly Hills Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

Infiltration and Control

Proponents of the resolution to prevent members of the Communist Party and their supporters from becoming affiliated with the Wonderland Youth Center were, in fact, following the example of the American Civil Liberties Union in establishing this sort of preventive device, except that the proposed amendment to the by-laws would bar the Communists and fellow-travelers from membership whereas the American Civil Liberties Union only barred them from holding staff or official positions in the organization. If the proponents of the measure at the Youth Center had been aware of the records of some of the more persuasive and influential members of their organization, they would have realized that without the most meticulous preparation and canvassing of the membership they would have little chance in putting through any kind of an anti-Communist measure. We have listed below only those individuals who were affiliated with some important Communist-controlled organization, were actual members of the Communist Party itself or who were connected with a series of front organizations. We have not included individuals who affiliated with one or two such organizations in the '30s, or whose record has disclosed that they had a brief association with a Communist front and then dropped out of this sort of activity. Many of the members of the Wonderland Youth Center had mildly flirted with Communist fronts and had subscribed to Communist publications many years ago and we have omitted them from the following list. We have no infor-

mation concerning their attitude toward the proposed amendment to the by-laws.

On the Board of Directors with Rykoff and Tenner were Doris Karnes who participated in the Actors Laboratory Theatre presentations after World War II, was a member of the new Negro Arts Theatre in 1950, and who participated in the Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs in 1952.

Attorney Maynard Omerberg was a member of the Board of Directors for the term 1960-1961. In 1944 he was a lecturer at the Communist School in Los Angeles; in 1948 he was a candidate for Congress on the Independent Progressive Party ticket from the Fifteenth Congressional District of California; in November 1948 he signed a handbill for the Civil Rights Congress protesting the jailing of the ten members of the Communist Party who refused to testify before a Los Angeles Grand Jury, and at the same time Mr. Omerberg was a member of the state committee of the Independent Progressive Party; in July 1949 he was a sponsor for the Bill of Rights Conference, a Communist-controlled front created for the purpose of resisting "the increasing assault upon Constitutional rights," and which was extremely active during the trial of the twelve national leaders of the Communist Party of the United States at Foley Square in New York City; in June 1951 he addressed a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress protesting the Supreme Court decision which affirmed the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders, in conjunction with Tenner and Rykoff; in 1951 he was a contributor to the Civil Rights Congress publication setting forth the history of that potent Communist front.

Walter Rothman was also a member of the Board of Directors for 1960-1961. He taught at the Communist School in Los Angeles during the spring term in 1945, and first expressed his distaste for investigations of Communism when he signed a statement demanding abolition of the Dies Committee sponsored by the National Conference for Constitutional Rights, one of the more formidable Communist fronts of that era.

The general membership of the Wonderland Youth Center during the period 1958-1961 included Mr. Garrett Eckbo, who had taught at the Communist School in Los Angeles during the winter of 1945 and was a member of its arts advisory board; in April 1950 he and others made a visit to United States Attorney Tolin in Los Angeles soliciting his support for a new hearing in the case of Dalton Trumbo and John Howard Lawson, veteran Communist in the motion picture industry; in 1951 he was a member of the executive board of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, and in the same year he was a sponsor for the Civil Rights Congress; in 1952 he was a sponsor for the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom; in 1953 he was a contributor to the Los Angeles County Negro Labor Council, and a sponsor for the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

Robert Ellis belonged to Wonderland Youth Center. He also was a member of the Civil Rights Council, and had been a member of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the Hollywood Democratic Committee.

A. J. Freeman taught a course at the Communist School in Los Angeles during the spring term of 1949, and in 1952 wired the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles to protest the firing of Frank Wilkinson, who had been brought before this Committee at a closed hearing, refused to answer questions concerning his alleged Communist affiliation, and was immediately discharged. As will be seen later, the Committee had sworn statements from several independent sources establishing the fact that Mr. Wilkinson was not only a member of the Communist Party, but had played a very important and significant role in that organization.

Oscar Fuss, Wonderland Center member, was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and came to California from New York in 1938 at the request of Alexander Noral, Communist leader of the Workers Alliance in this State. The Workers Alliance has been characterized as a Communist front organization for people who are either unemployed or on relief, and his record is so important and so consistent that we set it forth in some detail. In 1940 Fuss was head of the Workers Alliance in Los Angeles. He had been executive Secretary of the Clerical and Professional Division of the Workers Alliance in Greater New York, with offices at 138 West 22nd Street in that city in 1938, most of his work being in connection with individuals who were then employed by the Works Progress Administration. Immediately after arriving in California he plunged into Communist front activities and political action, and played a leading part in the California Conference for Democratic Action, the California Conference for Democratic Action convention at Fresno, the *People's World* Forum in Los Angeles, was elected state vice-president of the Workers Alliance, became a member of the Los Angeles County executive board for labor's Non-Partisan League, and was writing articles for the Communist newspaper, then known as the *Daily People's World*—all between January and June of 1940. In 1941 he became chairman of the resolutions committee for the Emergency Conference to Halt The Blackout of Civil Liberties in California; in 1942 he was elected research director for the Los Angeles County C.I.O. Industrial Council, and in that capacity addressed an audience in the Pasadena Women's Clubhouse on May 17, 1942. He urged the endorsement of Al S. Waxman, who published a paper called the *East Side Journal* which carried propaganda for the array of Communist fronts that were accusing the police department and sheriff's office of brutality against Mexican youths, and he was also a member of the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Mexican-American Youth. In 1943 Gov. Earl Warren appointed Mr. Fuss to study tax problems in California; he became assistant legislative director of the California C.I.O. organization, and sent a wire to U. S. Senator Sheridan Downey in Washington urging him to advocate the immediate opening of a second front by our armed forces to relieve the German attack on the U.S.S.R. This wire was sent in October 1943, but on February 12, 1940 Fuss had spoken before several Communist-front organizations, his subject being "Keep America Out of War!". We have already indicated how the international Party line changed when the Germans violated the Non-Aggression Pact and invaded the Soviet Union. In January 1944 Fuss was listed as a guest lecturer during the winter term at the Communist School in Los Angeles, at

the same time he was writing a political column for the Communist newspaper, and in May of 1944 he was inducted into the United States Army as Private Oscar Fuss, Company A, 86th Infantry Training Battalion, ASN, No. 39,585,564, and started his basic training at Camp Roberts. Having been taken out of circulation for awhile, he was succeeded in June of 1944 by Eleanor Bogigian, who took over his duties as assistant State C.I.O. legislative director, and director of political action for the C.I.O. in Southern California. Miss Bogigian later became Mrs. Murray Abowitz, and with her husband affiliated with the Wonderland Youth Center, as we shall shortly see.

In 1946 Fuss was back in Southern California lecturing at the Communist school, and in 1950 he sponsored Robert Kenny who was running for State Senator on the Independent Progressive Party ticket with his customary Communist and radical support.

Those who have read the preceding section of this report concerning the problem at Elsinore will recall that during the testimony of James McGowan before the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee at Visalia in 1940 he described attending a meeting at which Mr. Fuss was a principal speaker in his capacity as an official for the Workers Alliance, and we may state parenthetically that from 1940 until McGowan's departure from the San Joaquin Valley, he and Fuss frequently collaborated in recruiting people from the Workers Alliance directly into the Communist Party and generally ministering to Communist affairs in Tulare, Kings and a portion of Kern Counties.

Paul Marion was identified as a member of the Communist Party by sworn testimony before the House Committee in October 1952, as was Joseph Pass. Both were members of the Wonderland Youth Center, and Pass has a record of Communist-front activities reaching back to the days of the old John Reed Club in the '30s and continuing to date.

Lester Cole has been identified over and over as a member of the Communist Party; he has been active in many front organizations, served a term as president of the Screen Writers Guild, organized for the Communist Party at Universal Studios and Lockheed Aircraft Plants, and has been affiliated with the League of American Writers, the American Peace Mobilization, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, the Hollywood Peace Forum, the Fourth Congress of American Writers, the Progressive Citizens of America, the Mobilization for Democracy, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, the People's Educational Center, the Civil Rights Congress, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom, and the California Labor School. He and his wife Catherine, who also has a formidable record of activity in Communist fronts, were members of the Wonderland Youth Center.

Joseph and Catherine Van Der Kar were both members of the Civil Rights Congress and had been subscribers to the Communist newspaper in California since the '40s.

Robert T. Wilkerson has been affiliated with the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, has attended meetings of the Communist Political Association, and participated in functions at the Communist school in Southern California when it was known as the People's Educational Center.

Eleanor Bogigian Abowitz was known in the Communist Party by an alias: Margaret Petos. In 1944 she participated in a fete for Ferdi-

nand Smith, then an official of the National Maritime Union, and a member of the Communist Party who was later deported from the United States because of his subversive activities; she was a member of the Hollywood Democratic Committee, the Mobilization for Democracy, lectured at the Communist school in Los Angeles in the summer of 1946, served as state legislative director for the C.I.O. in 1946, having succeeded Oscar Fuss in that capacity, as we have already explained; sponsored the Statewide Legislative Conference in 1947; was a member of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council in 1951; was a sponsor of the Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs in 1953, came into the Communist Party from the Young Communist League in 1936 and has continued her pro-Communist activities since that date.

Dr. Murray Abowitz has appeared before this Committee and has an equally formidable record of participation in Communist-dominated organizations. He has served as executive secretary of the American-Soviet Medical Society; he was a lecturer at the Communist school in Los Angeles during the winter of 1944; he was a sponsor for the Statewide Legislative Conference in 1946; he was a member of the Progressive Citizens of America in 1947, and conducted a lecture program at the Communist School in Los Angeles in the fall of that year; he was on the advisory committee of the Communist School in 1948, and during that year was a member of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, and the Civil Rights Congress. In 1949 he continued his activities at the Communist School and also participated actively in the programs of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom, Physicians for Civil Liberties, Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs, Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and has several times been identified as a member of the Communist Party by sworn testimony.

Frank Pestana, a lawyer, formerly practiced in Alameda County where he was connected with the professional branch of the Communist Party of that county. He has been active in a number of front organizations including the Civil Rights Congress, the Communist School, the Bill of Rights Conference, and virtually all of the major front organizations in Southern California where he now resides.

Janet Stevenson has been affiliated with the Hollywood Democratic Committee, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, was fired from U.S.C. for refusing to answer questions about Communist Party membership, has been a member of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, the Citizens Committee for Freedom in Education, and chairman of the Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs; she has been a contributor to the Communist newspaper in this State, has lectured at the Communist schools both in Los Angeles and San Francisco, has lectured under the auspices of the American-Russian Institute and is a sponsor for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

Many other members of the Wonderland Youth Center, as we have said, have records of sporadic activity in various Communist fronts, or signed petitions to qualify the Communist Party for participation in state elections in the late '30s—we have not included these individuals,

and set forth the foregoing records for the purpose of disclosing the extent of infiltration by fellow-travelers and Communist Party members into this organization.

Those who have read this report carefully will now discern how these Communists and fellow-travelers invariably come to the assistance of each other and collaborate in the dissemination of the Party line and immediate resistance to all anti-Communist measures or undertakings to investigate the extent of Communist infiltration; never losing an opportunity to make propaganda, never failing in their ceaseless efforts to further the Party line. Thus when Frank Wilkinson was fired, Morris Kominsky and others sent wires and letters of protest; Oscar Fuss cooperated with James McGowan in Tulare County, and with his friends in the Wonderland Youth Center; and McGowan cooperated with Kominsky at Elsinore. And through fronts like the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, and all of the other fronts that we have described above, they were constantly meeting, plotting, recruiting, and ganging upon anyone or any group that presumed to get in their way or interfere with their program.

The lawyers belonged to the same fronts as did their colleagues, and defended them when they were summoned to tell the State or the Federal Government about subversive infiltration. And when trouble looms, or some disruption of an organization occurs, these determined and disciplined people will invariably raise the familiar cries of persecution, McCarthyism, witch-hunting, and red-baiting, hauling out the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and seeking to invoke the protection of the very documents they seek to destroy.

What are the weapons that can most effectively be used to combat this sort of thing? Certainly not the techniques of the vigilantes, nor the uncontrolled individuals who undertake on their own to assume the role of an investigator and go stumbling about into areas where they do not belong; not by alarmists or sensationalists or irresponsible and unofficial organizations that seek to distribute lists of alleged reds and fellow-travelers without citing reliable sources of evidence through which the charges can be documented. The most effective weapons are an exposure of the extent of infiltration in various organizations where the matter becomes a problem, widespread circulation of accurate information concerning Communist fronts, the Party line, Party propaganda and programs, identity of Communist leaders, the sort of information that will allow the vast majority of our people to become thoroughly aware of this menace to our way of life and who can then take intelligent and forceful measures to insure that we are doing all we can to correct it.

CINEMA EDUCATIONAL GUILD

In recent months the Committee has received letters from many states written by individuals who wish to determine the reliability of a little folder entitled "Red Stars—No. 3." This is one of the many publications issued by the Cinema Educational Guild, Inc., Post Office Box 46205, Cole Branch, Hollywood 46, California. We have been receiving such inquiries from people in California for several years,

and have answered these letters as they were received, but in view of the mass of correspondence and the nature of the inquiries we have been getting recently, it is imperative that we devote some portion of this report to the origin, growth, and activities of the organization, together with some comments on its responsibility.

Myron C. Fagan, national director of the Cinema Educational Guild, a non-profit corporation, was an active playwright and producer in New York City when he was only twenty years of age—in 1907. He came to Hollywood in 1920 and ten years thereafter was working for Pathe Pictures as a writer-director. After RKO acquired the Pathe concern, Fagan worked as a free-lance writer.

In 1945 Fagan wrote a play called "Red Rainbow" which was concerned with the threat of domestic Communism to the security of the United States. There was solid opposition to its production from the pro-Communist elements in the New York entertainment world, and Fagan was unable to secure the requisite financial backing to produce it. He then took the play to Hollywood, and found the opposition even more solid.

Two years later Fagan wrote and produced a play called "Thieves Paradise," the theme of which dealt with Communism behind the Iron Curtain. There was considerable opposition to its production, but it was opened at the Las Palmas Theatre in Hollywood on December 26 1947. The leading man was Howard Johnson and from the time the production opened he was subject to a plan of telephone harassment which sent him to St. Vincent's Hospital with a nervous breakdown after six performances, and the play was forced to close. The constant campaign of early morning threats to both Johnson and his mother was too much for him to bear and he was in no condition to resume his role even after he was released from the hospital. The matter was thoroughly investigated by both Actors Equity and the American Board of Arbitration, and the facts as related above were fully corroborated.

On April 12, 1948, "Thieves Paradise" was again opened at the Hollywood El Patio Theatre under the sponsorship of a group of women's organizations. This time it finished its scheduled run despite threats to close it down, and by now Fagan had obtained considerable information concerning the extent to which the motion picture industry had been infiltrated by Communists. He made a curtain speech at one of the performances of his play, naming 100 prominent people in the picture business as "reds, fellow-travelers, and dupes."* In various other publications he continued his campaign to expose the infiltration, and formed the Cinema Educational Guild as a non-profit California corporation in January 1949.

Since its creation the Guild has issued many booklets, form letters, circulars, folders and other material—virtually all dealing with Communism. Fagan has lectured extensively, and supports his activities through the sale of publications, lecture fees, dues of members who have joined the Guild and from contributions. Some of the publications of the organization are: *Red Stars in Hollywood*, 1948; *Moscow over Hollywood*, 1948; *Moscow Marches on Hollywood*, 1949; *Unmasking the Reds in Hollywood*, 1949; *Reds Behind World Federalism*, 1949; *Red Treason in Hollywood*, 1949; *Documentation of Red Stars In Hol-*

* *Red Stars in Hollywood*, Cinema Educational Guild, 1950, page 9.

lywood, 1950; *Documentation of the Reds Behind World Federalism*, 1950; *Reds in the Crusade for Freedom*, 1950; *What is this Thing Called Anti-Semitism?*; 1952, *Our Year of Decision!*; *Red Stars No. 3*.

Shortly after the organization of the Guild, Fagan accelerated his anti-Communist activities. During the spring of 1952 Cinema Educational Guild Productions announced the presentation of "Red Rain-bow", "Gallant People", and "Thieves Paradise" at the Beau Arts Theatre in Los Angeles, orchestra seats selling at \$9.00 each for the three plays.

There can be no doubt about the general truth of much of Mr. Fagan's statements concerning infiltration of the motion picture industry—indeed the entire entertainment world—by Communists. He has taken much of his information from the reports of the California Committee on Un-American Activities, and much from reports of various other official bodies and Federal committees. But he has never had access to the confidential files containing the basic evidence on which the statements in our own reports are based, and he has therefore been forced to operate under a considerable handicap. Thus in many cases persons who were affiliated with a front group or two for a short time have been listed currently as subversive in his publications along with others who have heavy documentation commencing in the early '30s and continuing to date.

But those who realized their mistake and left the front organizations in disgust and disillusionment are often still carried as subversives on the Fagan lists, and therein lies the danger from any unofficial organization that undertakes to publish lists of alleged subversive organizations and individuals. They do not have the facilities, nor the authority, nor the experience to handle these matters in an expert fashion and therefore they produce an enormous amount of harm by falsely accusing individuals who are not only loyal but who have profited greatly by their unfortunate experiences in having been lured into Communist-front groups. As we have many times declared in former reports, a Communist front is created for the express purpose of attracting non-Communist liberals and then subjecting them to a careful, subtle and delicately-conceived program of propaganda until they are persuaded to take up the study of Marxism and are brought constantly closer to the Party itself; or who are sufficiently loyal and alert and well-balanced to detect the real objectives of these hypocritical organizations then leave them forthwith. Statements in some of the Guild publications to the effect that the contents are based on materials in the files of this Committee leave the implication with laymen that the compiler of the publication had access to our files. We wish to make it clear that this is not the case, and that our files are only accessible to responsible official agencies, for obvious reasons.

We do not wish to impugn the sincerity of Mr. Fagan, but we do wish to make public the facts about his Cinema Educational Guild, and our opinion concerning the erroneous nature of many of the statements contained in its publications. Some official agencies have regarded certain statements in these tracts and booklets about Mr. Fagan as hardly compatible with an expert approach to the counter-subversive field. Thus: "In presenting this profile we have one objective: to establish the fact that in matters of theatre and of Hollywood, Myron C.

Fagan is a Voice of Authority . . . quite as unquestionable as the Voice of J. Edgar Hoover in matters of our National Security." * This sort of self-serving declaration is seen in several of the Guild publications, and has tended to alienate many substantial agencies that are quite aware of the basic correctness of many of the assertions, but dislike the pontifical attitude of the statements, and the Guild's position that once a person has been affiliated with a Communist front, he is forever damned.

There are heavy evidences of anti-Semitism throughout many of the booklets and in many of the Fagan speeches. Thus in: "What is This Thing Called Anti-Semitism?" (1951), he declares, "Significantly, the B'nai B'rith is composed of less than 5% of the Jewish population in America . . . The other 95% are dominated by the 5%—all of whom are kept under control by the B'nai B'rith secret police, known as the A.D.L.‡ The A.D.L. is fully as ruthless as Moscow's M.V.D.†—only they cannot as yet resort to the murderous methods of the M.V.D. . . . because, as yet, America is a free nation." ‡

Claiming that the *Christian Science Monitor*, Chet Huntley, and the A.D.L. had made libelous statements against him, Fagan joined them all in a libel suit in 1950. He then accused his attorney of having sold him out, and brought charges against the lawyer before the California State Bar Association. After long investigation, protracted exchanges of heated correspondence, hearings and appeals, the Bar decided there was nothing to the charges and summarily dismissed them.

The most recent list of alleged Communists, fellow-travelers and dupes circulated by Cinema Educational Guild contains—among other names, those of Alvah Bessie, J. Edward Bromberg, Morris Carnovsky, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Lionel Stander, Gale Sondergaard, and Dalton Trumbo. There is substantial evidence of Communist affiliations of each. Also named were Norman Corwin, Charles Chaplin, John Cromwell, Benny Goodman, Rose Hobart, John Huston, Frederic March, Lewis Milestone, Sam Ornitz, Larry Parks, Irving Pichel, Paul Robeson, Adrian Scott, Franchot Tone, and Sam Wanamaker. Each is accused of having a record of front affiliations and activities, and each has been affiliated with some fronts. The list also contains the names of Melvyn Douglas, Myrna Loy, Gregory Peck, Walter Wanger, and Mary McCall, Jr. Each has been accused of some connection with Communism or fronts, and in many cases the proof is flimsy, and in other cases some of the individuals named above have emerged as ardent anti-Communists.

The point to bear in mind is that such a list implies that everyone named on it is a red—dangerous, active, disciplined, and dedicated. In some instances this is undoubtedly true. In others it is sheer nonsense. Mr. Fagan may well be one of the nation's outstanding experts on matters theatrical, but that does not necessarily qualify him as an expert in the field of counter-subversive intelligence. If his lists were thoroughly documented, that would be one thing, but to simply state that the information is corroborated by the files of some official committees is something else. Mr. Fagan has no access to these files, as we

* *Documentation of Red Stars in Hollywood*, 1950, page iv.

† Soviet Secret Police.

‡ "What is This Thing Called Anti-Semitism," Cinema Educational Guild, 1951, p. 11.

§ Anti-Defamation League.

have stated, and the evaluation of evidence must be made in the light of passing time, changing conditions, changes in the Party line, the purposes and degree of virulence of each of the front organizations, and many other factors that should be taken into consideration by experts.

There is no question in the mind of this Committee that it is necessary to arouse the people to the dangers of Communism, and that any sound and adequate program in this direction is to be encouraged. But, however sincere the motives, if the techniques used in accomplishing this objective tends to smear innocent people and cast suspicion on every individual who has ever been affiliated with the Communist front organization, despite overwhelming evidence that the individual is completely loyal, this actually serves to spread confusion and bewilderment and to destroy the confidence of many people in the accuracy and objectivity of official agencies operating in this extremely challenging and controversial field.

Having been operating for more than twenty years, this Committee is quite aware of the fact that any effort to combat Communism will provoke immediate accusations from the Communists and their supporters of smearing, irresponsibility, and all the rest of their vituperative charges. And these accusations will be hurled against the F.B.I. and the Immigration Department, and Military and Naval Intelligence, Federal and State committees and any other agency—official or otherwise, expert or irresponsible—for the very simple reason that any effort to unmask the activities of Communist subversion in this country will inevitably meet with this sort of opposition. But it is now more important than ever to eliminate irresponsibility in this field and put an end to hysteria and sensationalism for its own sake, and to keep the public and the Legislature and the Congress constantly abreast of the situation and informed concerning the nature, techniques and operations of subversion in all its aspects.

In addition to the publications of the Cinema Education Guild that we have already mentioned, there are also available a series of news-bulletins, selling for fifty cents each, or five copies for two dollars, some of the titles being as follows: *Reds in the Anti-Defamation League*, *Now We Must Outlaw the U.N.*, *How To Abolish the U. N.*, *United Nations on Trial in Washington, D.C.*, *How We Are Being Brainwashed*, *This is the A.D.L.*, *Mr. Hoover, Don't Give Up the Ship*, *Ammunition to Fight Treason*, *They Said it Couldn't be Done*, *U.S. Abolished by Order of the U.N.*, *Plotters of Treason: The Genocide Plot*, *Analysis of the World Revolution*, *Only Impeachments Will Save Our Country*, *Documentations: Of the U.N. Plot to Take Over the U.S.*

There have also been folders circulated by the Guild and calling for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, "for giving aid and comfort to the Communist conspiracy, the mortal enemy of the United States and the American people," and this has led to some accusations that the Guild is an adjunct of the John Birch Society. Since we may be called upon to investigate the John Birch Society, having been requested to do so by the head of that organization, we deem it inappropriate to comment here on any details in connection with its nature, operation, or connections while that investigation is in progress.

The Case of Mary McCall

We wish to close this portion of this report by pointing out that *Red Stars—No. 3* currently circulated throughout the United States and issued last year, contains the name of Mary McCall listed among the alleged roster of "reds, fellow-travelers, and dupes." In July of 1954 this Committee issued invitations to individuals in the motion picture industry, and generally throughout Southern California, to appear before us if they desired and to testify concerning circumstances under which their names appeared on Communist-front organizations. One of the several individuals who availed themselves of this opportunity was Mrs. Mary McCall Bramson, professionally known as Mary C. McCall, Jr., a screen-writer widely known and respected throughout her profession. Mrs. McCall had served on three occasions as president of the Screen Writers Guild, and is the only woman to have ever enjoyed that distinction.

She stated that she had been listed as a member of the Writers Congress Advisory Committee in 1943 and pointed out, as had other witnesses, that the predominant membership of that organization, was completely loyal and anti-Communist, but that after the end of World War II it became apparent to her that a small and disruptive minority in the Screen Writers Guild seemed to be card-holding and hard-working members of the Communist Party, sought to prolong the life of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and that the executive secretary of the Mobilization was a woman who, Mrs. McCall was convinced, was a member of the Communist Party. That individual, Pauline Lauber Finn, had been identified as a Communist by testimony before this Committee, and Mr. Robert Rossen who for several years had played a dominant role in the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and Screen Writers Guild and who masqueraded as liberal, finally admitted that he had been, during all of his tenure in office, an active member of the Communist Party.

The witness also mentioned her affiliation with a movement known as the Emergency Committee on KFI which, while including some persons with Communist front records, was for the most part composed of loyal and anti-Communist individuals. She stated that she had been connected with the Actors Laboratory Theatre as an audience sponsor, testified that she eventually began to see names appearing on its Board of Directors she believed to be members of the Communist Party and who had given valid evidence of their pro-Communist Party sympathies by their affiliations with a whole array of organizations known to her to be under the domination of the Communist apparatus. She was also listed as a member or sponsor of the Hollywood Democratic Committee and the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council.

Mrs. McCall explained her connection with each of these organizations in a forthright and convincing manner, answered every question put to her by the Committee, disdained to invoke the Fifth Amendment or any other Constitutional provision, and emphasized the fact that she considered extremists from the right, the fanatical and irresponsible persons with no regard for the rights of their fellow men and precious little regard for the truth, as extremely dangerous obstacles in the effort to combat the menace of Communism. Her most

interesting comments cannot be quoted in full, but the following statement fairly well summarizes the tenor of her testimony: "I think sometimes in revulsion from Communism—and revolting they are—you find yourself tempted to go too far the other way. This impulse you must resist."

After thanking the Committee for permitting her to appear and testify, Mrs. McCall concluded her evidence by stating that in her opinion: "Members of the Communist Party are in effect agents of a foreign power, and any decision as to whether they are loyal to the United States of America or to the U.S.S.R., even the loyalty of an American-born Communist member, would go to the U.S.S.R."

She also gave a lie to the familiar old Communist propaganda that the down-trodden working masses had no chance to better themselves under a capitalist form of government by declaring that her grandfather, John McCall, the son of an Irish immigrant saloonkeeper in Albany, New York, "rose by his own good name and his own efforts to be president of the New York Life Insurance Company. This was possible," said Mrs. McCall, "in this capitalistic republic of ours. I don't want anything to happen to that system because this is the kind of opportunity I want for my children."*

Despite this outright statement, and despite the fact that our 1955 report, like its predecessors and successors, was widely distributed and placed in every large public library in the state, the name of Mary McCall is still carried in the folder of the Cinema Educational Guild, Inc., "Red Stars—No. 3," 1960, as a "red, fellow-traveler or dupe."

We are happy to report that Mrs. McCall is successfully following her profession as a screen writer, that she has most graciously written for representatives of the Committee expressing her gratitude for allowing her to appear before us, and while we may be breaking a precedent by making this sort of a statement—we very much doubt if Mrs. McCall will ever run the risk of being involved in any Communist-front organization.

We have cited the case of Mrs. McCall as illustrative of other individuals whose names appear on the folder, names like Melvyn Douglas, who at one time drifted dangerously close to Communism, but who has for many years been consistently anti-Communist, has repudiated Communism on many occasions, and who has never, so far as we are aware, appeared on any list of alleged subversive individuals with the exception of "Red Stars—No. 3." It is not the province of this Committee to act as a monitor for every unofficial organization that undertakes to attack Communism or to point out every erroneous statement that any of them may make. In this instance, however, the Cinema Educational Guild has seen fit to declare that its allegations are based on evidence in our files. As we have seen in the case of Mrs. McCall, this is not true.

We disagree with a great many of the statements made by the Cinema Educational Guild, but if we undertook to make a separate analysis of the record of every individual mentioned by the Guild and other unofficial organizations operating in this field, we would have no time

* 1955 Committee Report, pages 444-446.

to do anything else. It should be manifest to everyone that no unofficial list of alleged subversive individuals or organizations, unless accompanied by thorough documentation, should be accepted at face value. Of course, any such list of purported subversive persons and groups that is not accompanied by complete documentation, must be regarded with extreme caution.

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